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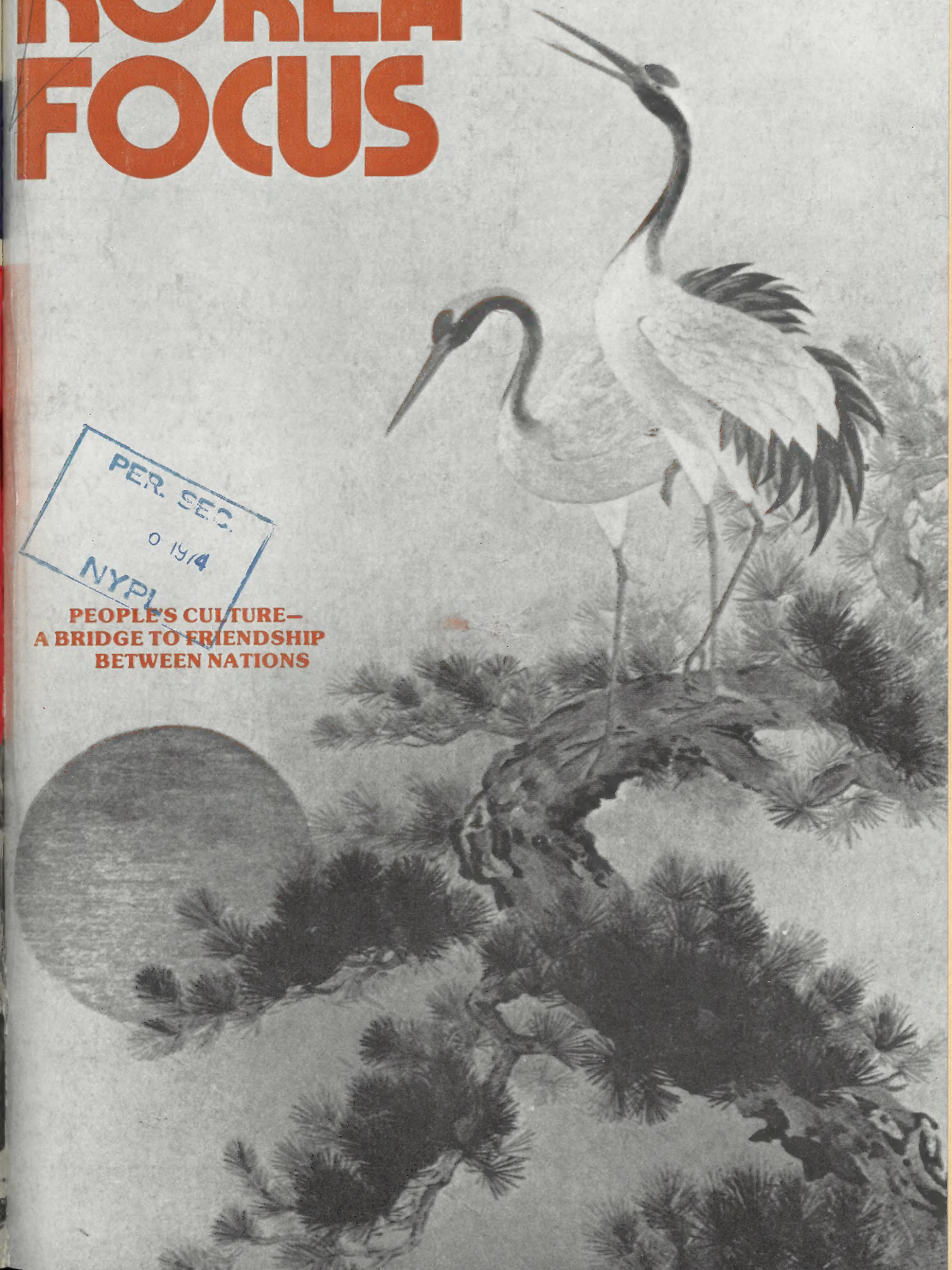
KOREA FOCUS



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**PEOPLE'S CULTURE—
A BRIDGE TO FRIENDSHIP
BETWEEN NATIONS**

KOREA FOCUS

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Halt the Terror in South Korea!

As we go to press with this issue of *Korea Focus,* Seoul continues to report daily the imprisonment of thousands of South Koreans for resisting the Park Chung Hee repressions and for supporting reunification of their country.

Already more than 250 people of all walks of life have been convicted on trumped-up charges by military court martials.

The prominent people's young poet, Kim Chi Ha, has been sentenced to death, together with 13 others, mostly students. Fifteen people have been sentenced to life imprisonment. Former president of the country, Yun Po Sun, faces a possible death sentence. Many of those arrested have been subjected to severe torture during interrogation. The prominent lawyer and advocate of civil liberties, Kang Shin Ok, a former George Washington and Yale student, who represents the poet, Kim Chi Ha, and other defendants sentenced to death, was arrested by the Korean CIA.

Kim Young Sam, vice president of the opposition New Democratic Party, has been detained and prevented from proceeding with a scheduled press conference. Kim Dae Jung, the former opposition presidential candidate who was kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel in August 1973 by the Korean CIA, has been placed on trial, facing a prison sentence for outspoken opposition to the terrorist regime of Park Chung Hee. (See *Korea Focus,* Vol. II, No. 3)

Chang Jun Ha, publisher of the leading intellectual journal, *Sasanggye,* is clapped into jail for 15 years by a military tribunal.

Hundreds are awaiting trial under the April 23 Emergency Decree making any dissent punishable by death.

Send your protest to: President Park Chung Hee, c/o South Korean Mission to UN, 866 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Call or write to:

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Dept. of State, Washington, D.C.

The trials taking place in Seoul now are mock trials staged as court martial actions by Park Chung Hee's regime to eliminate all opposition and criticism to his police state rule. Heading the court martials and handing down death sentences to students and others, are the generals of the South Korean regime who only a short time ago were directing the South Korean mercenaries in the killing, rape and ravaging of the people of South Vietnam.

The spectre of scores of poets, students, publishers, trade unionists, clergy, opposition political leaders, and foreign residents being rounded up and summarily sentenced to death or long prison terms must violate the conscience of all human beings.

The word 'fascism' is often overused or misused, but in the case of South Korea today, fascism is the only apt characterization of a regime which shuns even the trappings of democracy.

As United States Citizens the staff and Executive Board members of the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center calls on the Park Chung Hee representatives in Washington to stop its trials and free its political prisoners whose only 'crime' is defense of their democratic rights and the demand for the unification of their country peacefully and independently. We call on President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger to end all U.S. collusion with Park Chung Hee by halting funds to Seoul and by withdrawing U.S. troops.

If the fascist regime of Park Chung Hee is not restrained now it is liable to provoke incidents on the 38th parallel, the demarcation line dividing the north and south, leading to a resumption of the tragic war of 1950-53 on the Korean peninsula. The American Korean Friendship and Information Center declares that any appeasement of the Park Chung Hee regime may result in the shedding blood, not only of the Korean people, but hundreds of thousands of young Americans. There must be no repetition of the Vietnam tragedy.

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Traditional paintings in Korean Fine Arts Museum.

The steelmaking Fighters.

The Women of Nanyung Village.

Art and Culture in Socialist Korea

This issue of Korea Focus, in a way, a testimonial to the Korean people. In it we try to tell the story, as concisely and succinctly as possible, of how they have rebuilt, and continue to rebuild, the national culture that had been obliterated for decades by systematic destruction and plunder by foreign imperialism. Their achievements have been stupendous, especially in view of the fact that, because of many years of obfuscation of their cultural traditions. the Korean people have had to undertake the monumental task of building a new socialist culture.

In this issue of Korea Focus we have tried to show how the problems of trying to build a national people's culture have been, and continue to be met successfully by the socialist policies of the Workers Party of Korea, which emphasizes national content while at the same time avoiding narrow cultural chauvinism through actively sharing of revolutionary experience with other socialist nations.

In the course of our presentation, it becomes clear that one of the most salient pacts of this developing culture in the DPRK has been the enlightened, humanistic approach which the DPRK has adopted with regard to traditionalists and pre-revolutionary artists and writers. Such artists and writers have become a valuable asset to the Korean revolution, because they have been patiently and tolerantly re-educated with new socialist consciousness.

We have endeavored to present facts and opinions concerning the development of people's art and culture in the DPRK, not only from the point of view of outside observers, but more importantly, through the statements and observations of various Korean people's artists, writers, and cultural officials. This has been made possible in great measure by the superb contribution of the renowned El Salvadorian poet, Roque Dalton, whose article, "Green is the Pine," forms the structural basis for this issue of Korea Focus, and which serves as a point of departure for the various analyses and commentaries which round out this issue of our publication.

In this sense, this issue of Korea Focus is in actuality a forum for discussion of the questions related to the problem of building a people's culture in countries newly emergent from imperialist oppression, and of building socialist culture generally. In this connection, as always, the editors of Korea Focus wholeheartedly welcome comments, contributions, support and encouragement from our readers, so that we may continue to bring to our readers such valuable and otherwise unavailable material as that contained herein.

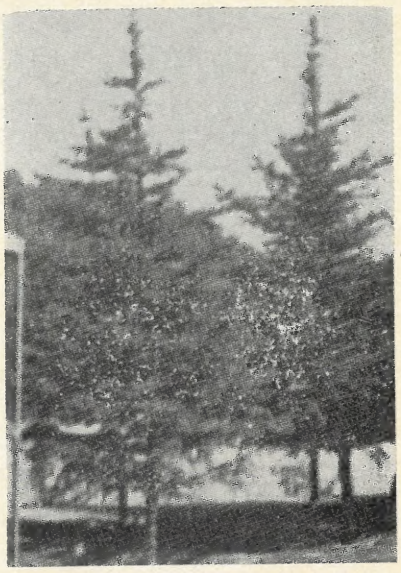
Your comments for publication in coming issues are most welcome.

—Editorial Board

(Cover and center spread prepared by Robert Lassen.)

Green is the Pine

By ROQUE DALTON



INTRODUCTION

During a month's visit in the DPRK as a guest of the party and government, I was able to interview various people—writers, artists, publicists, leaders of the cultural front—on the Korean Workers Party's policy with respect to culture, art and the intelligentsia. Following are the most significant and representative of those interviews: with the Vice-President of the Association of Foreign Cultural Relations, Kim Un; with the noted painter and President of the Painters' Union, Zong Kuan Chol; and with the novelist and war veteran Sok Yun Ki.

To put their comments in perspective it would be helpful to recall some references to these matters in the "Report on the Work of the Central Committee" presented by Kim Il Sung to the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party in November, 1970.

"The popular masses are the ones who create socialist culture and in our society literature and art can develop rapidly only when they have the broad participation of the working masses.

The party has always paid profound attention to revolutionizing and deepening the working class consciousness of intellectuals along with workers and peasants. One of the important tasks facing a Marxist-Leninist party in power is to form new intellectuals and, at the same time, solve correctly the problem of the intellectuals who served the old society. Originally, intellectuals as a social group had the dual role of being able to serve not only the exploiting classes but also the working class. Our country's former intellectuals, almost all of whom came from rich families, served the exploiting society in the past, but as intellectuals of a colonial and semi-feudal society they had also been the object of national oppression and discrimination by Japanese imperialism, which instilled in many of them an anti-imperialist, democratic and revolutionary spirit. Today our intellectuals, as socialist worker intellectuals, advance with certainty, following the road indicated by the party, and loyally serve the revolution . . . workers and artists must . . . vividly depict the great reality of our country today and the struggle of revolutionaries and of the patriotic people of southern Korea who fight valiantly for the revolution in the south and the unification of the homeland. Workers and artists must study life seriously and in detail, penetrating reality with greater profundity to create a great number of revolutionary works that reach the heart of the peo-

Roque Dalton, revolutionary Salvador poet and essayist and two-time winner of the Casa de las Americas poetry prize, has been subjected to persecution, imprisonment and exile from his country. This article is a condensed version of an earlier report written in 1972 for Tricontinental Magazine. The article was edited by David B. Buehrens, who has taught English literature, linguistics and social science at the University of Wisconsin and Brooklyn College. He has been published in Science and Society, Counterpoint, Korea Focus and New World Review, where he also served as an editor.

ple, inspire and impel them to advance actively. . . . We must be strictly on guard against the tendency to lean toward the exclusivity of specialists in literary and artistic activities. . . . To establish *Juche* is, in a word, to maintain . . . an independent position of thinking for oneself, abandoning the spirit of leaning on others, and displaying the revolutionary spirit of relying on your own forces. . . . This also means maintaining a creative position and opposing dogmatism and continuing to apply the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries to the historic conditions and national peculiarities of this country."

I

"The apprenticeship of the illiterate, of the humble and miserable who succeeded in mastering the most advanced techniques is a story every bit as beautiful as the best of the ancient legends about fairies and monsters. Anyone who doesn't understand this has no revolutionary sensitivity, and is blind to the beautiful truths of his epoch."

Kim Un, contemporary Korean author

Modern Korean intellectual life originated under Japanese colonial domination in deforming circumstances. In that period there was minimal education and access to school. Only a few Koreans who were children of rich families could attend the Japanese high schools and universities, and they also suffered from the consistently deforming and anti-national policies of the Japanese. There was no chance then for an intellectual life to arise from the Korean people themselves, the miserable masses exploited in the rice fields, the

Researchers test mass-produced instruments.

The piano tuner.

Ginseng plantations and the mines. But the well-to-do intellectuals, because of their peculiar position, began to acquire a patriotic and anti-imperialist character. The revolution took account of this circumstance. It is no accident that the shield of the Korean Workers Party consists of the hammer, the sickle and the writing brush (equivalent to the Western pen). The brush stands for the working intellectuals of the country.

The Korean revolution needed the knowledge of the intellectuals, especially in a backward country. But it also had to be careful about their negative features, recognizing that intellectuals are not a social class but a *sector*: vacillation, egotism, individualism, a demonstrated capability for separating themselves from the people. The task, then, was the arduous one, not of liquidating to old intellectuals, but of transforming them gradually into working class intellectuals.

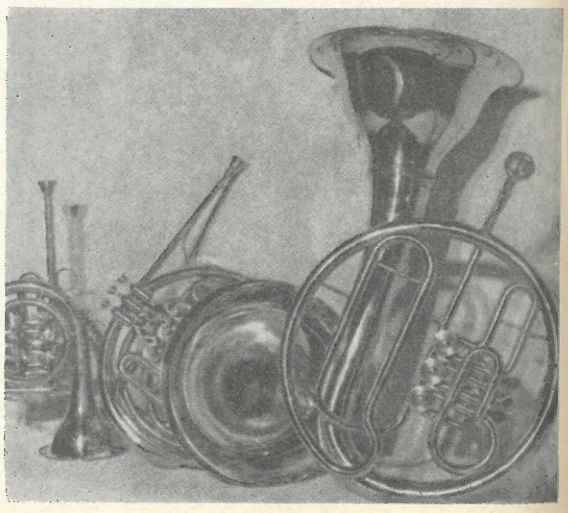
This very deliberate policy included three main goals, first of which was the integration of intellectuals into organizational life, including party life as well as social organizations, mass organizations and unions of artists and writers. Comrade Kim Il Sung has correctly pointed out that "the cell of the party is a high-temperature oven that forges revolutionary ideas," but the intellectual is formed not only within the party, and it is a fact that not all intellectuals achieve the merit necessary to become party members.

The principal method used in organizational life is the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism, educational, constructive rather than destructive, implying an overall collective, non-individualist vision.

Secondly, study—the constant, daily study of Marxism-Leninism, for revolutionary consciousness does not arise spontaneously. Only by study can we project concretely the ideological struggle against revisionism, dogmatism and bourgeois ideology. In the Democratic Republic of Korea everyone has the obligation of study, from the President to the oldest member of the cooperative on the highest mountain. All study two hours a day and Saturday afternoons at the very least. The nation is in a race against time with U.S. imperialism, and although the comrades of some revolutionary countries can fulfill their goals with one step a day, Koreans have to take ten steps in the same period of time.

Thirdly, social practice; intellectuals must *participate* in production—in factories, shops and state farms. This is very important, although it is still secondary to organizational life and daily study.

The Korean intellectual is not a member of a privileged elite, but just one more citizen, although with special social and political



Brass winds.

characteristics. But before revolutionary and socialist law he has exactly the same obligations as the worker and the peasant.

As for contemporary Korean literature, the most important thematic resources are the following, keeping in mind that literature must serve the central purpose of our age—the defeat of the imperialist world system:

1) The anti-Japanese struggle as the first stage of the Korean revolution, out of which national liberation and the Marxist-Leninist vanguard developed, preparing the country to go on with the tasks of democratic transformation and, later, of socialist construction.

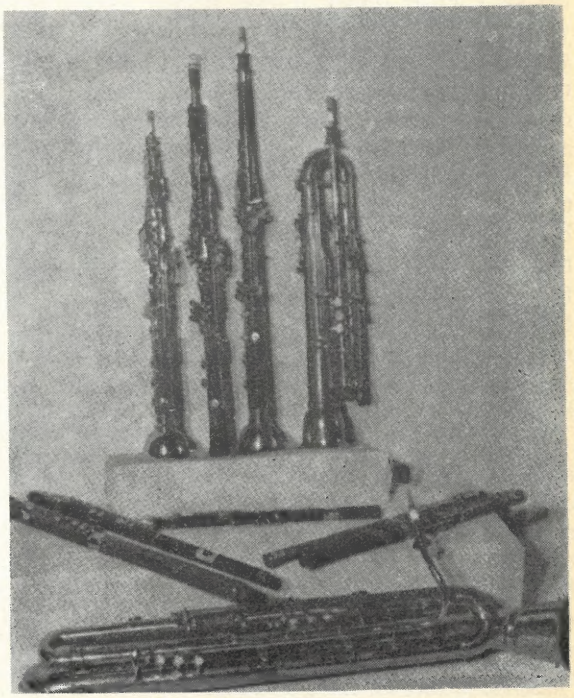
2) The epical war to liberate our homeland from the U.S. military aggression, 1950-1953, in which, in the midst of a titanic struggle to emerge from centuries of backwardness, our people were able to bring to its knees the strongest, most barbarous military power in history as millions of heroes sacrificed their blood and their lives to save the homeland and the revolution. This is an inexhaustible gold mine of literary subjects to raise our people's consciousness as they advance their revolutionary struggle; our writers are privileged to have this experience at their fingertips.

During this war more than 18 heavy bombs per square kilometer fell on the northern part of our country, but our people responded a thousandfold, and each of their feats is food for a novel, a poem, a theatrical work, a song. The tradition of this epic is that of fighters who covered the holes in enemy machine gun nests with their bodies, that of the defenders of Hill 1211, that of the fighter plane groups that destroyed almost 3,000 pieces of enemy equipment in two years with light arms. But our epic includes also the heroic victims, our martyrs—the 35,000 inhabitants of Sinchon murdered by the Yankess, and the 120,000 civilians slaughtered in the province of Huan Je.

3) The great creative work of the Korean people engaged in socialist construction, which is no less grand than armed struggle, because we had to start from zero and depend mainly on our own forces, constantly under enemy threat. Now we are one of the eight or nine countries in the world that manufacture electric locomotives but our first tractor we made practically by hand with clean hammer strokes, after making many mistakes and starting from the beginning many times over. Now we have 6,000-ton hydraulic dams, all the tractors we need and textile factories for such marvelous fabrics as vinalon. The apprenticeship of the humble and miserable illiterates who achieved mastery of the most advanced techniques is a story every bit as beautiful as the best of the ancient legends about fairies and monsters. Anyone who doesn't understand this has no revolutionary sensitivity, and is blind to the beautiful truths of his epoch.

4 The revolutionary struggle of southern Korea of our compatriots, who live under terrible conditions of misery and exploitation, is a literary theme imposed on us not only as an elementary moral duty, but also as an authentic task of the Korean revolution, which we have not yet concluded. Our country is still divided, its southern part under military occupation by the imperialist enemy, and this is a total threat that will not end before the inevitable reunification.

Of course these four main thematic subjects in no way mean that we can't write about other things, including, in the words of



Wood wind instruments.

Assembling of Haegum.

a Swedish friend, "the sun, the moon, the willows and melancholy love." But it must be very clear, even if one writes about the weeping willow without any historical background, for whom he is writing. Our people enjoy a good poem about the moon—we live on the earth and not on Mars!—but more than anything else they want a literature that defends their fundamental common interests, for they are the judges of literature and art. We believe that if the revolution, a task superior to any other, is made for and by the masses, then literature, undoubtedly a secondary activity, should be subject to no rules separating it from the masses. Or should the masses have the final word in everything except literature?

We believe that literature and art in origin and destiny are a mass question and that the artist must express mass sentiment and mass reality with his own means, as a part of the masses. It is therefore sheer mysticism to view literature as a special field restricted to an elite who know and speak a secret language, since the only result achieved by that path is the restriction of the literary heights to minorities—which, under socialism, would be an absurd contradiction. With creative elitism, mere virtuosity is attained—art for art's sake—and literature becomes a gratuitous game, a brand of immediate consumer economy. Without denying the great importance of individual talent, why should we hesitate to place the direction of our literature under the historically wise criteria of the masses?

It is a logical consequence of this that, in general, we do not consider an artistic creation of value among us if it is not intelligible by our people. This criterion for art and literature is, of course, supported by a deep cultural education already very successfully developed. Our people are a socialist people, educated and disciplined in revolutionary traditions, with a new kind of Marxist-Leninist party and leaders capable of outlining the correct route of advance in the face of greater and steeper difficulties than those our most distant mountains present; our people who need and demand of their artists and writers an ever higher quality in national art and literature. Our successes in these fields are relative to our needs, but we don't doubt that in the future we will have an abundance of undisputed successes—we have already begun

to achieve them—in such fields as music, film, dance, revolutionary choreography, etc.

We have learned what is most valuable: to think with our own heads; we don't need to conform to foreign requirements like valets, changing direction as if blown by the wind. When imperialism disappears, we can then concern ourselves less with diversionist points of view in art and literature. And perhaps we won't be very arrogant with someone who writes about the sun and moon from the point of view that that subject is not totally useful to our country. But that is only when imperialism has disappeared. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that we must always do what is appropriate to each historic stage of the revolution.

II

"Our writers and artists are not merchants, they are not salesmen for their works, they are not typewriter mercenaries, or mercenaries of the artists's brush or musical instrument. Our writers and artists are revolutionaries."

Zong Kuan Chol, prominent Korean painter

After the country's liberation from the Japanese imperialist yoke, our party found that there weren't many painters and that, of those few, a good number were working in the old style, conforming to the tastes of the bourgeoisie and the Japanese colonialists. Our leadership then sketched out the basic common policy for all artists, including painters, on the simple grounds of non-opposition to our party. Thus the conditions were created for the gradual transformation of the old-style painters by using as a vanguard those artists who, because they were stimulated by the events of our people's struggle, wanted to record them artistically. Of course there ensued an ideological and aesthetic struggle in the course of which the Korean abstract artists, Fauvists, impressionists, surrealists and others transcended these concepts and, although they went through all the "isms," they adhered to the principle of an artistic front against the common enemy. Our leadership embraced all painters, confident in their basic nationalism and patriotism; the policy stressed principally that "it is necessary to create works that serve the people, and to do that, the writers and artists must penetrate deeply among the masses and breathe the same air." (Kim Il Sung). All this has entailed a constant and systematic labor reflected in the case of our painters, for example, in the strug-

The Banyung Pavilion, Hamhung.

gle to fulfill the tasks indicated by the Fifth Congress of the Party by applying the idea of *Juche*. *Juche* in our artistic work means creating the development of the Korean revolution—recording the principal issues of our revolution in artistic form, *our artistic form*, and not attending to problems remote from us —this is what *Juche* means for us, at least in this stage of history.

Moreover, mass participation is essential. And for that reason great numbers of workers and peasants are active in composing songs, poems, dramatic works, as well as in performing in choruses, dance and theatrical groups. We have insisted on the importance, therefore, of working in three basic directions in our cultural policy: accepting the old intellectuals who have now become intellectuals who serve the people, the country and the working class; creating a new group of specialized artistic and literary intellectuals; and following the line of mass artistic and literary activity, for most important is the creation of intellectual cadres of working class or peasant origin.

As far as the economic status of writers and artists in today's Korean society is concerned, our writers and artists are not merchants, salesmen, typewriter mercenaries, or paid hacks with artists' brushes. We are revolutionaries, and we know that in bourgeois society artists and writers turn out their work for money, because literature and art are commodities there. But our writers have issued statements in which they have announced their decision to receive no money from the State, and renounced authors' "rights." We have nevertheless seen to it that the creative specialist does receive a salary, expenses for trips essential for the creative work, as well as working materials and social services equal to those enjoyed by all other Korean workers (health, recreation, vacations, etc.) There are also free places where these people can live and devote themselves to their writing, painting, composing or whatever. The economic advance of our socialist society has made this possible, but it does not constitute any kind of privilege in relation to our other citizens; we try to furnish workers in all branches of production with the best conditions for the proper development of their labor on behalf of their society.

Testing the tune.

Of course our revolutionary artistic production has still a relatively short history and we face many specific problems that can only be resolved finally with time and experience. A people's literature and art do not simply arise from scratch overnight. We are just beginning. But despite this, and despite our basic needs for defense and socialist construction, we have already harvested many beautiful fruits in our literature and art. Our national classic and revolutionary dance group has been received enthusiastically throughout the world. We now have first-class symphony orchestras, using both international and typically Korean instruments. We can say much the same for our civilian and military choral groups. And let's not forget the achievements of our artists, especially the collective works—pictures and murals done by collectives of revolutionary painters. There have been many of these, as well as much individual work of note, too—classics of Korean revolutionary painting known in reproductions throughout the world, such as the Old Man on Rakongang, by Ri Chang; The Girls of Namgan River and The Diamong Mountain, by Tsong Yon Man, or the team paintings done by Tson Jiong Un, Che Son Iong, Kan Son Im and Shin Son

Suk, to mention but a few. In literature we've had recent successes with collective poems by the Writers' Union like The Pine Will Always Be Green, which enriches the revolutionary tradition begun by the late Korean poet So Ki Chon, author of the epic Bektu Mountain. We have also had some outstanding revolutionary novels and films. Sculpture has begun to develop, especially in the area of monuments like the one dedicated to the battle of Bochombo. As for drama, the most recent works have also been the best in my opinion —Epic of Potang River, Revolution's New Tomorrow, The Green Pine, among others. Much has also been accomplished in the genre of what we call poetic choreography—a combination of orchestral and choral music with gigantic dance corps and mixed revolutionary and folkloric content. And in other forms of mass activity we have managed to develop artistic performances from what were basically sporting activities.

I haven't meant to bore you by merely reciting a list of some of our artistic accomplishments, but rather to present some examples that show something of our directions and perspectives as far as our friends and comrades around the world are concerned.

III

"'We must accept actively all that is progressive in the culture of the peoples of the world, and introduce it to our people,' but our main interest at the moment is to develop our own national revolutionary culture. We cannot close ourselves off from world proletarian culture since that would be to fall into a narrow nationalism on the cultural level. But we cannot allow that goal to hamper our work of building our own authentic culture."

Sok Yun Ki, prominent Korean novelist

As comrade Zong Kuan Chol has noted, we had very few writers, painters and artists in our country right after our liberation. We were facing very tough conditions then, at the very start of our democratic and socialist construction, and it was commonplace for intellectuals to live poorly, without adequate clothing, shelter or any favorable conditions for creative work. We had no cinema art or cinema industry whatsoever, to give just one example. That also had to be started from scratch, through public financing.

And that explains why the cultural application of the *Juche* principal gets priority in our partys' policy. If we compose a song, paint a picture or write a novel we must do it according to our people's taste, with their feelings and idiosyncrasies foremost in mind. Otherwise we would make serious mistakes if not fall completely into a literature for spectators only, an art without participants. So the first duty of the Korean artist is to meet the needs of the masses as they really are.

Of course that doesnt mean that our literature cannot develop an international relevance which it has, in serving the advancement of other revolutionary peoples, too. But our fundamental concern now is with the interests of the Korean revolution, and that's what we mean by cultural *Juche*.

Our intelligentsia consists mostly of new people from the working class and the peasantry, but we also have a number of older intellectuals who have achieved this new revolutionary orientation. And it hasn't been an easy process. Much of this change took place during the years of war against U.S. aggression in our country, when writers participated as war correspondents or as soldiers, and artists at all points on the front helped in raising the combative morale of our troops, from the far north to the southern tip of our country.

Our main aims now, therefore, are:

a) to strengthen the principle of *Juche* in art and literature;

b) to have all artists and writers arm themselves with the spirit of service to the people and the working class, and firm adherence to Marxist-Leninist ideology; and

c) to insure that all workers on the cultural front firmly oppose bourgeois culture and the penetration of Yankee imperialist culture;

d) to create a modern culture, art and literature. It is necessary to judge the culture of the past with a highly critical attitude, making it serve what is new and current—our needs at this stage of our own history and world history.

We don't pay homage to the old for being old, or nourish nostalgia for the past as such. We look resolutely to the future. But we can,

and do, use the tradition of the old culture as a reference point for comparison to sharpen our own weapons. Thus we try to isolate its elements of democratic and popular culture, developing them and placing them at the service of our struggle. Among us, all creative people can paint, compose, write, do what they like, but what is important is that their works teach our people today how to live and struggle today, how to work and triumph today. Our most important goal is to create works that express the sense of living in the epoch of the revolution, in the epoch of the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and in the epoch of socialist construction.

Our leadership are always in close touch with what Korean artists and writers are doing. They are familiar with the films, the literature, the new musical productions, and stimulate discussion, suggest orientations, hear consultations and expressions of doubts and problems.

As far as foreign revolutionary literature is concerned, our principled position is quite in accord with our adherence to Marxist-Leninist proletarian internationalism. As Comrade Kim Il Sung has said, "We must accept actively all that is progressive and revolutionary in the culture of the peoples of the world, and introduce it to our people," but our main interest at the moment is to develop our own national revolutionary culture. We translate and publish revolutionary works from all over the world, on the basis of the interest and taste of our masses and the necessities of our revolution. We cannot close ourselves off from world proletarian culture since that would be to fall into a narrow nationalism on the cultural level. But we cannot allow that goal to hamper our work of building our own authentic culture. And it is inconceivable that we could accept a work which in any way exalts the style of North American imperialist life, because we are completely opposed to it and we want to create the new style of socialist life. Yankee life style is based on egotism and individualism, geared to oppression and exploitation. Our style is the very antithesis of this reactionary concept: we exalt collectivism, love of the fatherland and the people, struggle against egotism and superficiality, the concept of "all for one and one for all," of the people's wisdom. It is certain that we are not perfect, and remnants of our feudal and capitalist heritage are still with us, but our direction is toward the elimination of the negative elements and the struggle for what is better. In that way we not only help the Korean revolution, but the world revolution as well.

THE BROADER IMPLICATIONS OF THE KOREAN EXAMPLE

IV

The Korean experience in literature and art and the Korean struggle to develop a national revolutionary culture in cooperation with intellectuals as a group and as individuals hold great interest for Latin American revolutionaries in general and for Latin American revolutionary artists in particular. The Korean experience is exemplary because it is a victorious one, valid in its own right, although the Korean comrades are the first to insist on considering it in relation to the specific conditions in which it has developed, and to renounce any attempt at imitation or simple, mechanical transfer. But surely in today's world there is no experience in these areas that can be alien to us, for whom Cuba has dramatized the old issue of the political-cultural by bringing the real perspective of socialism to Latin America. And in addition to the Soviet experience, which is more than fifty years old, there are the Chinese, the Indochinese, the Algerian and those of the peoples of the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. Moreover, a long polemic on these very problems has been confronting revolutionaries and reactionaries alike within the bosom of bourgeois society for this whole century.

Accordingly, after having had Korean opinions on art, literature and related problems explained directly by Koreans themselves, I would only like to outline the most general thoughts they evoked for Latin American writers and revolutionary artists, starting from the most general revolutionary principles, but

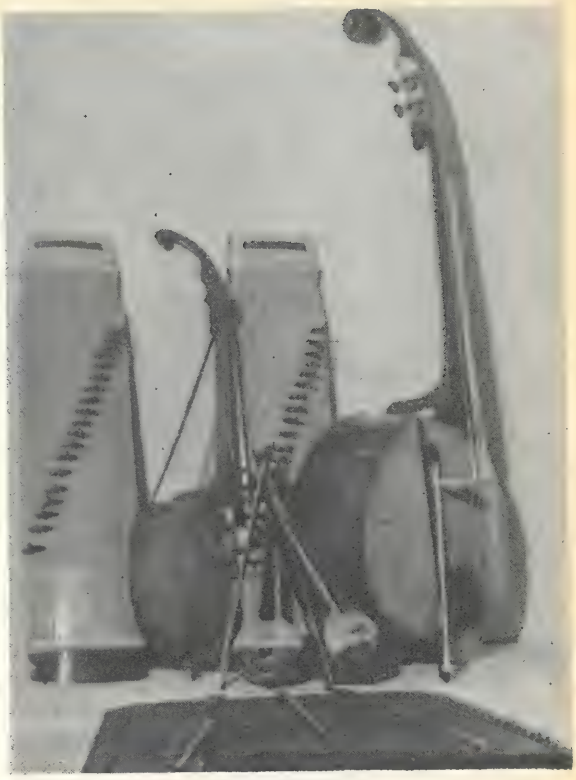
within an openly "functional" concept of cultural labor in our countries. And I am thinking out loud more for the revolutionary militants who pose the cultural problems than for the creative artists who present the problems of their own work.

With this in mind, I believe the following four characteristics of the Korean experience must be emphasized:

1) The Korean cultural experience in literature, art and relations with intellectuals is one of applying Marxism-Leninism to the historical, political, social, economic and cultural specifics of Korea, given the strategical-tactical necessities for Korean revolutionary development under the direction of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Here it is important to stress that Party's independent criteria for its cultural policy. Korean culture, after all, developed under very difficult conditions in a small country that was the prized booty of imperialist powers near and far—feudal and semi-colonial China, czarist Russia, imperial Japan, the U.S. never ceased their efforts to colonize and subordinate—the North Americans as long ago as 1866, shortly after the first direct U.S. aggression in Latin America, William Walker's raids against Nicaragua. And of course basic to this imperialist thrust was the destruction of Korean national culture. Although the aggressors and occupiers did not finally succeed in defeating the tremendous unified will of the Korean people to survive, the national culture suffered all the weaknesses and defects that such a sustained assault entails—in language, ancient art, folklore, religious art, architecture, popular dance, music, painting, ceramics and other crafts. It is said by Korean scholars of history and culture that, as a consequence, it is necessary to be an archaeologist in order to do work in Korea's social-cultural continuity.

After national liberation and the march toward socialism, the struggle for a national Korean culture, and against the imperialist penetration and resultant habits of the past, became an inseparable part of construction, but now all the means and instruments of political power in the hands of the party and the people could be used to further that struggle. For it was no longer a defensive holding action but an offensive striving in



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quest of the broadest flowering and growth, a struggle for the culture of a people in power. But new problems were posed—the political and ideological problems relating to culture within the international Communist movement and the Socialist world, of which the Koreans were now an inseparable part. Hence Kim Il Sung's appeals both to avoid the evils of bourgeois and imperialist influence in artistic work, and to struggle against revisionist and dogmatist tendencies as well. As for those who accused the Korean comrades of having two chairs in front of them without knowing which one to sit in, Kim Il Sung replied tartly: "We have our own seat, the Korean seat, and we feel very comfortable in it." This did not imply a narrow, isolating chauvinism, but a development which, while open to the lessons and history of other countries, nevertheless proceeded in accordance with *Korean* conditions and national characteristics. Thus, while it is quite possible to find the influence of a recent past in Korean works, such as that of the period of cooperation with the Soviet Army in the anti-Japanese struggle,

especially evident in Korean patriotic and combat music, in industrial design and other architectural forms, one can easily find other surviving influences from a past era. Korea's

basic position with regard to the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" and other developments, has not been a passive independence, but an active and constructive independence in keeping with the interests of the Korean people themselves. Marxism-Leninism argues that all nations, all peoples, have their own distinctive peculiarities which, reflected in national art, constitute an integrating force in world culture and art.

2) The Korean experience in the cultural area is concerned with concretizing the Marxist-Leninist principle that the masses are the creators and the recipients, the subjects and the objects at the same time, of revolutionary socialist cultural creation.

Literature and art, therefore, are dependent on a broad active mass participation for their rapid development, which must be in accord with the particular feelings and tastes of the Korean masses themselves, as well as with the needs of the Korean revolution embodied in the national program of the Workers Party of Korea.

The eminently aggrieved nature of Korean history explains the relative "poverty" of the Korean cultural tradition in terms of critical historiography, poetry, narrative, continuity of classical scholarship, etc.; hence the beginning of socialist construction had to be very much a departure from a relative zero, and the problem of the "assimilation of past culture and tradition," in the Leninist phrase, had less relevance in Korea than in most other countries, for even the pre-bourgeois elements of feudal, mandarinesque and semi-feudal periods were thoroughly damaged by the plunder of the Japanese colonialists. For example, the collection of classical Korean painting in Pyongyang's Fine Art Museum, with the exception of the marvelous tomb frescoes reproduced from originals existing in the DPRK, had to be recovered piece by piece from revolutionary Koreans resident in Japan and then returned to the homeland. I repeat: those who study Korean classical art (the third- generation of Koreanologists of whom Forman and Barinoa write in *Ancient Art in* Korea [Artia: Prague, 1962]) had to begin with archaeology.

For this reason also, the debate in the European socialist countries about the merits of

"critical realism" as against "socialist realism" has no bearing in Korea; only superficially can Korean "socialist realism" be included within the same framework that has defined "socialist realism" in the European socialist countries.

Another point: in every national culture, wrote Lenin in his Critical Notes on the National Question, there exist elements of democratic and socialist culture, as well as a bourgeois culture—not just "elements" but a dominant culture, that of the landowners, priests and bourgeoisie.

But this dichotomy has been absorbed in Korea by the colonial and imperialist relationship. When Japanese imperialism was defeated and routed from Korean soil, the landholding accomplices of the Japanese had lost their base of sustenance (in the northern part of Korea), while the wealthy and middle peasantry was assimilated into the revolutionary process and for the most part reeducated and transformed. None of the social sectors which in the past belonged to the exploiting group was, except in a very weak and fragmentary way, a producer of national culture. Thus, without the hindrances of a really important alienating tradition that has to be sifted and critically appropriated, the social bases of the national culture are defined and shaped by the working people of the countryside and the cities, in cooperation with a new intelligentsia emergent from the working class and older intellectuals who have transformed their orientation. As Gramsci has written, every cultural movement returns to its national characteristics if it entails a genuine return of culture to the people.

3) The Korean experience in art and literature is an experience of partisan creation. In this sense, the cultural labor of the Workers' Party of Korea embodies the classic principles of Marx, Engels and Lenin in a manner long heavily attacked by bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideology. The problem is traditionally presented in the form of an alternative: "Directed art or free art," "autonomy or extra-artistic dependence of art," the intellectual as the critical conscience of society or as the disciplined militant of the revolutionary organization," "primacy of content over form or vice versa," "The intellectual as rebel or as servant,' "free world intellectual versus the intellectual of the dictatorship of the proletariat," etc.

From the quotations of Kim Il Sung, transcribed earlier, as well as from the declarations of the Korean intellectuals I interviewed, it is clear that the Korean party goes so far as to determine the thematic tasks of writers and artists, eliminating everything abstract or vague in the creative artist's task of "social reclamation." This problem is particularly important for the present situation in Latin America—for example the Argentine author Julio Cortazar's book "Trip Around a Table," the magazine *Casa de las Americas,* no. 59 and other calls for artists to respond to the "demands" of the people.

We believe, of course, that this demand (what Gramsci calls "coercion") always exists in one sense or another, whether as part of a capitalist or socialist social system, a revolutionary movement or a personal conviction. What really interests revolutionaries is what is operative—the limits and forms by which the theme is to be concretized—the concrete way in which the creator manifests the reality of the revolutionary process, specifically in its (organizational) forms—the party, revolutionary organizations, the socialist state. In this terrain the Communists depend on some very valid starting points, general principles about the partisanship of art and literature which of course admit development and variation in particular cases. Lenin posed the question of partisan literature in his classic article on "Party Organization and Party Literature," in 1905. He wrote:

> "It does not mean merely that literature cannot be for the socialist proletariat a means of individual or group profit, or a purely individual work independent of the common proletarian cause. Down with the apolitical literary person, the literary superman. Literature must be a part of the proletarian cause . . . hysterical intellectuals . . . may claim that [this] degrades, ties down and "bureaucratizes" the free ideological struggle, freedom of criticism, freedom of literary creation, etc. Actually such mouthings will be nothing more than the expression of bourgeois intellectual individ-

Venceremos Brigaders meet Korean volunteers at Cuban sugar harvest.

ualism. Doubtless it is literary labor that is least subject to mechanical equalization, to the domination of the minority by the majority. Doubtless it is absolutely necessary to insure the greatest degree of personal initiative, individual inclinations, thinking, imagination, form and content in this field. All this is indubitable. But that only demonstrates that the literary function of the party of the proletariat cannot be mechanically identified with its other functions. This does not diminish in any way the thesis which is so strange and foreign to the bourgeoisies and to bourgeois democracy that literary labor must be indissolubly tied, in a permanent and obligatory manner, to other aspects of the party's activity . . . each one is free to write and to say what he wants to without the least interference, but every free association (including that of the party) is also free to root out of its bosom those of its members who use the name of the party to propose points of view contrary to it. Free speech and press must be complete. But so must freedom of association. I have the obligation to concede to you in the name of free speech, the full right to scream, to lie and to write what you wish. But you have the obligation to concede to me in the name of freedom of association, the right to make or break an alliance with those who expres themselves in such a manner.

Perhaps the real basis of error in this field lies in the fact that the intellectual creators of our Latin American countries do not yet see revolutionary organization as indispensable to carrying forward a revolution, whether because traditional revolutionary organizations are not seen as viable, or because newer organizations are still premature, partial, and even mutually exclusive. A sympathetic intellectual like Julio Cortazar, for example, can even suggest a "disposition to change our typewriter for another type of machine . . . if we believe the hour has arrived' although "our own clock must sound the hour, not that of those who dictate conduct, who order a break in ranks or arrival on the dot of 8 at our own work post." But since it is only through organizations, as I have said, that revolutions are made, it is precisely a revolutionary organization that will define the type of machine, and when and how they are to be used. For without contradicting Cortazar when he writes that "the true revolution can only be born out of maximum efforts on all levels, out of the maximum tension in all sectors, out of the search for the new man from all angles," what will be truly decisive will be the scienti-

fically organized search, in accord with the specific revolutionary reality of each of our countries. And if this is fundamental, which it is, all the rest is secondary. A comprehension of these problems, part of the natural course of the revolutionary intellectual development, will enable us to maintain our rationality and not to panic when we hear the word "coercion."

One cannot but recall—and agree with Antonio Gramsci on this point:

> "Social coercion: how they talk against this coercion! They don't realize that it's nothing more than a word! Coercion, direction, plan are simply an area of artistic selection, nothing more. And of selection for practical purposes, that is in a field in which will and coercion are fully justified. We will have to analyze whether coercion hasn't always existed! Perhaps not coercion, because it is exercised by the surroundings and by each one in particular and not by a centralized force? At bottom it's always "rationalism" against individual free will. The question then doesn't rest on coercion but on whether or not it is authentic, truly functional rationalism or an arbitrary act, that is all. *Coercion remains only for those who do not accept, not for those who do accept*; if the coercion develops according to the social sciences, it is not coercion but rather the "revelation" of true culture acquired by an accelerated method. We can say of coercion what the religious say of divine determination: for those who wish it there is no determination, but instead free will. In reality coercion is fought because it is a question of struggle against certain intellectuals, traditions and traditionalists, who at most admit that new factors open the road little by little, gradually."
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> ***Literature and National Life*, Turin, 1950.**

It is thus not accurate that the lines of one's conduct (social, political, creative, etc.) "can only be determined by the writer or artist on the basis of his own sensitivity and his own consciousness," as Cortazar believes. He who determines the limits of his decision is essentially denying that he could be integrated into the revolutionary organization, which implies total commitment for total action in making the revolution. Of course, as Lenin was aware, this "organized intervention" into the intimacy of the creative process must not be mechanical or bureaucratic, for it is axiomatic that the artistic and literary process expresses itself in very specific ways, in which "individual powers" play a greater role than in other areas, obliging the organization to define itself in a manner that tactically and strategically allow for all the shadings, all the openings and accommodations consistent with a rich, useful, high-quality and multiformed creation.*

And varied also are the criteria for the work's evaluation from the organization's point of view, embracing temporary political needs and long-range perspective, national idiosyncrasy and universal character, all within the revolutionary global outlook of that organization. Nor need these priorities be mutually exclusive, even temporarily. Thus we need not forgo development of educated poetry just because we are struggling for mass intelligibility of the literary work. To quote Jesus Diaz, "the people's poetry of the future is the educated poetry; the educated poetry of the future will be the people's poetry."

It is clear that the Korean comrades believe that such mass intelligibility is indispensi-

* Gramsci's comments on the supposed virtues *per se* of non-conformity and difference for the sake of difference are worth quoting:

"Is sincerity (or spontaneity) always meritorious and worthy? It is to the degree that it is disciplined. Sincerity (or spontaneity) signifies the maximum of individuality in the sense of idiosyncrasy as well (originality in this case is equal to idiocy). The individual is original historically when he gives the maximum emphasis and life to "sociability" without which he would be an "idiot" (in the etymological sense which nevertheless is not far from the vulgar or common meaning). There is a romantic meaning to originality, personality, sincerity, which is historically justified to the extent that it was born in opposition to a certain Jesuitical conformity in essence, that is, an artificial, fictitious conformity created superficially to serve the interests of a small group or faction and not of a vanguard . . . It is too easy to be original, doing the contrary of what everyone else is doing; it is a mechanical task. It is too easy to speak differently from others, to be neological; the difficult thing is to distinguish oneself from others without performing these acrobatics. Exactly what is happening today is that originality and personality are sought at a low price. The jails and madhouses are full of original men with strong personalities. To put the accent on discipline, sociability, and nevertheless to expect sincerity, spontaneity, originality, personality: this is the truly arduous and difficult."

Literature and National Life

ble and basic to the very existence of the work of art, whether it is the product of the collective or the work of a specialist. Otherwise, they say, it isn't really art. And not just any intelligibility, but rather one defined by the idiosyncrasies of the Korean people right now.

If therefore partisan Korean art and literature must be expressed according to Korean standards to be effective, then the partisan art and literature of the Latin American revolution must correspond both with the concrete necessities of our present development and with the political perspective that includes the future. And that means, quite logically, that in this area we will have a whole set of important problems deriving from a stage that the Korean comrades have already left behind or which, for special historical reasons, they did not even have to experience at any point.

4) Korea's revolutionary art and literature are new and, along with brilliant successes and prospects, still evidence inadequacies consistent with their early stage of development and the unequal levels of development in the various areas of artistic creation. Contributing also to this situation have been the backwardness from which socialist construction began and the pressure of other priorities in the long, continuing Korean struggle against the internal enemy and Yankee imperialism. As Comrade Zong Kuan Chol has noted,

> "Our revolutionary artistic production has still a relatively short history and we face many specific problems that can only be resolved finally with time and experience. A people's literature and art do not simply arise from scratch overnight. We are just beginning. But despite this, and despite our basic needs for defense and socialist construction, we have already harvested many beautiful fruits in our literature and art."

At this point there is little relevance in talking about an eventual Korean Proust, Joyce and Mayakovski. There are still many theoretical and practical problems to be resolved along the ascending road of Korean culture, which quite naturally is not yet at an advanced, highly developed level. But it has nevertheless shown that the question of the literature during the period of transition, proletarian literature of socialist construction, is a very important and timely one. By no means can it be simply dismissed as a temporal and ephemeral bridge between two cultural eras, as Trotsky did. Such a period of transition on a world scale has, after all, been evolving for more than 50 years, having produced and continuing to produce a specific kind of culture, art and literature with a specific set of problems and characteristics demanding serious attention. For it is precisely the present acute sharpening of basic political and ideological confrontation that generates cultural products of unique interest, expressive ultimately of a struggle which can only be resolved over a relatively long period of time. In short, such literature is potentially of both global and epochal significance.

And therein lies the great value of the present art and literature of revolutionary Korea, created during the heroic period of transition from colonialism to socialism, marked by guerrilla warfare, massive conventional armed conflict, and coordinated social reconstruction of vast scope and ambition in the light of which both the accomplishments and the inadequacies of Korean art and literature should be understood.

Reference material for Roque Dalton's article was prepared by the editors.

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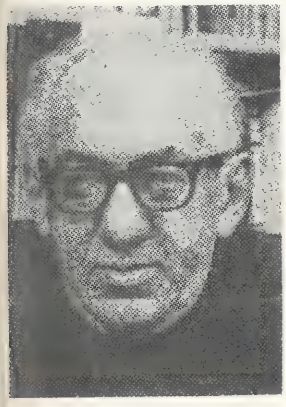
COMMENTARIES

By SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

Roque Dalton's article opens up a world of culture in Korea. It is a world developing and changing, growing in the only sense this word has in the arts. This does not mean producing better works. Rather it means producing more fine works, varied in content and texture. The roots between the creators and the people, strong from the start, have become expanded and strengthened. The new problems that arise are based on previous accomplishments, and will be triumphantly solved. The article strikes a high level from beginning to end. It is firmly Marxist in its approach. This leads him to a profound conviction in the creative powers of the Korean masses, on which everything else depends; the re-education of the old intellectuals, the formation of the new ones, the progress of art.



Sidney Finkelstein

Dalton is an El Salvador poet, and necessarily draws conclusions applicable to Latin America. As a writer in the United States, I feel also impelled to draw conclusions about my home country. It is directly involved with Korea, named as the main enemy, the would-be destroyer of Korean culture. Yet United States imperialism appears also as the main enemy of the people of the United States. It supplies something not found in Korea, a mass pseudo-culture aimed at the masses of people but not controlled by them. This comprises an enormous machinery which can be turned around, used by the masses and expressing them.

This commentary by Sidney Finkelstein on Roque Dalton's article "Green is the Pine," was contributed by him to Korea Focus a month before he died at the age of 64. In a conversation with the editor, when presenting his comments, Finkelstein expressed a wish that in reprinting Dalton's article we would ask other U.S. cultural personalities to join with Sidney in presenting comments of their own on the Dalton article. Finkelstein worked for many years as an editor at Vanguard Records. His first book, "Art and Society," was published in 1947. Finkelstein followed the next year with "Jazz, a People's Music," a pioneering work which established the crucial contribution of Black folk musicians to American and world musical culture. Then followed "How Music Expresses Ideas" (1952, republished in 1970), "Realism in Art" (1954), "Composer and Nation: the Folk Heritage in Music" (1960), "Existentialism and Alienation in American Literature" (1965), "Sense and Nonsense of McLuhan" (1968), and "Who Needs Shakespeare?" (1973). He was a prolific contributor of essays, articles and review to the New Masses, and Masses and Mainstream of which he was one of the editors, and to Dialog and the Daily World.

He taught classes for many years in the Marxist approach to art, literature and music at the Jefferson School and, in later years, at the Center for Marxist Education. He was one of the founders and board members of the American Institute for Marxist Studies. The following are excerpted from his works:

From "Jazz: A People's Music": "Jazz is the living embodiment of the creative powers of the people. It is especially the product, and gift to America, of the most poverty-stricken, hounded and exploited of the country, the Negro people. In it we can find the growing consciousness of the Negro people of their own solidarity as a people, a sense of national traditions, history and culture, born not out of Africa but out of their struggles against slavery, and out of the part they took in every struggle for the progress of American democracy from the War of Independence onward.

"Jazz is the product of labor, in that the musician today is largely a kind of laborer. The free, creative and humanly expressive music that is hot jazz is a sign of the constant desire of the laborer to break out of the chains of mechanical production, to create a product that is worthy of him, one that bears the stamp of his mind and personality. Through the work of the musician it becomes the expression of the people from whom he comes and for whom he creates. Jazz holds within itself a precious emotional realism. Its content is of the life of those who are in the front line of the struggle to conquer nature, who work with hands and bodies, who live out every day of their lives in the hardships and trials which every day brings up to all but a favored few. It is one of America's most precious cultural possessions, and its continued life is bound up with our life as a free people."

From "Realism in Art": "The new quality of realism in our times, differing from even the greatest critical realism of the past, is that it can portray the humanity of peoples the world over, and the kinship among them, as was never possible, and with a hope that was never possible before. To at-

tack obscurantism, racism, inhumanity, and the forces that divide people, is to strike a blow for peace, against war. The profoundly new quality of art today, differing from the past, is that it can play a most active role in changing the world, in bringing peace on earth and the unlimited development of people that peace will make possible."

From "Existentialism and Alienation in Modern Literature": "We are still in an early stage of this formation through culture of a world consciousness, but out of it one incontrovertible truth has appeared. It is that the more profoundly true the expression a nation gives to its own problems, struggles and historical experiences, the more it finds not incomprehensibility but kinship and understanding elsewhere. Along with this broadening scope of what can be called the 'world treasure-house' of literature, there has been a growing revolution in its content. The exploited, the working people, the colonial people, the peons and peasantry of 'undeveloped' countries whose resources are plundered by outside interests, are no longer the forgotten men of literature, or noticed only with condescension and pity. A literature now voices their own humanity, and their consciousness of their power to shape history. In it a critical eye is turned, sometimes caustic, sometimes contemptuous, sometimes pitying, on the rich and 'mighty' of the world who regard themselves as their natural superiors."

By ANTHONY TONEY

Within the context of the "yankee life style, based on egotism, and individualism, geared to oppression and exploitation" we here have shared the problem of evolving a realistic aesthetic and its expression in a revolutionary art. There is no easy path toward an epic art, profound, rich, fresh and meaningful, an art truly revolutionary, striking serious blows for freedom from exploitation, toward harmonizing the flowering of human fulfillment within the needs of nature.

Anthony Toney

Korean leadership understood the need and possibility of embracing all painters with confidence regardless of philosophical tendency and consequent style. The artist as well as the mass of people must function from where he, she or they truly are, if there is to be integrity. To reflect the aspirations of the people, the artist must be of them or learn their struggles and hopes. Identification with them begins the process of transformation that builds a socialist people.

But "intelligibility" must be conceived in its many-faceted richness. It might be difficult to define the psychological associations that may power a work of art. We must know or learn its symbols. Though we may recognize easily its images, we may be less clear though profoundly affected by the sensuous impact of the visual contrasts in their organizational relationships.

"Juche," its independence, its reliance on own forces, the maintenance of a creative position opposing dogmatism, its application "of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the experience of other countries to the historic conditions and national pecularities" of Korea is an inspiring concept.

Therein lies both the artist's integrity and revolutionary development. In its context, that of "one for all and all for one" denunciations of "jazz" or "abstraction" are out of place. Perhaps both have little relevance in Korea experience, certainly none as imitative practices, but the improvisations of jazz and the visual generalization of abstraction are part of the fabric of all art, no matter how national.

We don't remove the contradictions between classicism with its objective idealism, romanticism with its personal subjectivity, naturalism with its mechanical correspondences and the realism of dialectical materialism through castigation. We learn in the train of transformations that grow out of the interaction of practice and theory.

The discoveries of art are necessary to our survival. We need openness and patience with its diverse tendencies, for they may have unforeseen values. We can recognize the need of

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Anthony Toney has a doctorate (EdD) in Fine Arts and Fine Arts Education. He is a member of the faculty of New School in New York City and has exhibited at A.C.A. Gallery in New York since 1949. He is a member of National Academy of Artists Equity Association and the National Association of Mural Painters. Toney fought with the International Brigade in Spain and he served in New Guinea during the World War II. He has written a book called "Creative Painting and Drawing" published by Dover, 1964.

organization and welcome commissions of specific "thematic tasks" provided as Lenin indicated "the organization define itself in a manner that tactically and strategically allow for all the shadings, all the openings and accommodations consistent with a rich, useful, high quality and multiformed creation." Openness to experimentation is imperative to the cross-fertilization of ideas which become the discovery or invention, the freedom of knowing what is necessary to the solution of aesthetic and other problems.

Dalton's reflections afford a studied insight into the directions and problems of culture in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We can only applaud the successes, the mass participation and the replacement of commodity culture with that of art at the service of the people, achieved in the midst of massive conflict and reconstruction.

By DAVID B. BUEHRENS

A consideration of the preceding discussion of culture and art in the DPRK leads me to the following thoughts on what is always an infinitely complex subject—the relations of art to society.

David Buehrens

Art, since the time of of the rock and cave paintings of animals in ancient southern Europe and northern Africa, or the imitative and symbolic carvings on bone and stone implements and weapons of Neolithic times has arisen from s o c i a l needs and socially approved goals – and sought to further them. The fundamental productive process with its necessary network of human relationships was not only reflected but supported and advanced by "primitive" artists, who perhaps, in a very essential sense were thus not so primitive after all.

As society evolved, its needs, both real and distorted, ramified into ever more spiritual and psychological expression, and artists perceived and responded to those needs. The social function of aesthetic creation was simply taken for granted, and the possibility of denying that basic role never emerged to consciousness until, comparatively, very recent times. The artist was, basically, viewed as both servant and therapist of sorts to society—or, at least, classes within society. Art was social not only in origin but in purpose, and to a decisive extent mediated common—if not communal—perceptions and aspirations, including "the sun, the moon, the willows, and melancholy love."

The cave-painters improved the motivations and the skills of the hunters, even as the carving and engraving on implements enhanced, in however mythical a fashion, their effectuality, for as Cauldwell has shown, belief itself was a very material factor in social life—a distorted emotional confidence, and a very essential one, rather than an impractical abstraction of the mind.

And when one traces the growth of art down the ages,* from ancient song-prayers for fertility and agricultural success, to the communal drama that in an amazingly comprehensive way *dramatized* the perceived limits and scope of the human-social potential, to the multitude of crafts—and there was not a distinction between artist and artisan—one sees the primacy of that kind of people-oriented art in the Western world, and certainly elsewhere.

In literature, for example, from Homer to Dante, Rabelais, Cervantes, Shakespeare to the great novelists of the 19th century, reality was predominantly social reality to be communicated to a mass audience; and human possibility and progress, however romanticized, was the other face of human frailty. The time of the alienated artist had not yet come.

The point in all this is that the Korean revolution-makers have very deliberately brought to conscious, heightened reformulation the original and historical role of art in society. What was before assumed without recognition is now recognized, planned, utilized in "social reclamation." And what could be more appropriate!

The revolutionary era in which we are now living is in the process of transforming human relationships and institutions more profoundly

* As Arnold Hauser does in his classic *Social History of Art.*

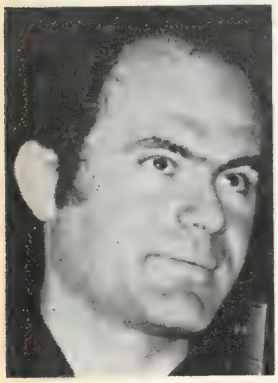
and rapidly than ever before. More basic changes are occurring than at any time since the cave-painters. But for the first time those changes are subject to rational understanding and direction where people have taken their "fate" into their own hands.

Artists are very properly important elements in this unprecedented process, which is the chief reason they are so honored in the DPRK and other socialist lands. They have a key role in humanizing the most significant changes in human history, changes ultimately embracing even "the sun, the moon, the willows and melancholy love." This in itself gives them a confidence and strength, often jarring to the Westerner still obtuse to history in the making.

Socialist construction does not automatically and mechanically produce great and sophisticated works of art, and it is not without its problems in the artistic sphere, as in others. But upon surveying the Korean example, I conclude that these pains are those of growth, not of the terminal variety so pervasive in other societies, in which the diagnoses themselves are infected by the illness.

By MICHAEL MYERSON

One of the things that most strikes a North American visitor to the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea is the stress put on Korean culture, almost to the point of exclusion of other national cultures. It is *Korean* music one hears on the radio, *Korean* art one views in the museums, *Korean* movies one sees in the theaters, *Korean* opera and ballet one watches on the stage. A snap judgment would conclude that in Pyongyang and Hamheung an almost xenophobic nationalism is at work in the field of culture. But a more careful examination of the phenomenon shows quite the contrary. That more careful examination is provided by the Salvadorean poet and revolutionary Roque Dalton, for which we are thankful.



Michael Myerson

If one were to step into a time capsule and enter Pyongyang circa 1934, the music, art, films and opera you would hear and see would be Japanese. Moreover, the language spoken in the schools and written on street signs would also be Japanese. Such was the madness of colonial occupation; such was actual exenophobic nationalism on the part of the Japanese authorities.

In Seoul and Pusan today, things aren't all that different. Imported Japanese culture, together with U.S. music and movies, dominates the scene. When we learn from *Variety* that there is a country-and-western music festival in southern Korea, or that The Exorcist is socko at the box office, it is of course a serious misreading to interpret this as internationlism or cosmopolitanism on the part of the Park Chung Hee regime.

For the non-revolutionary North American, this seems the natural order of things. One goes abroad to stay in the local Hilton hotel. In April of this year, the New York Times carried an article in its sports pages by former New York Yankee Joe Pepitone, who went to Japan to play baseball, only to become disillusioned with that country. It seems hamburgers were expensive in Tokyo and the folks there just didn't talk English good enough for the boy from the Bronx. Pepitone never thought it peculiar that baseball should be fast becoming the national *Japanese* pastime.

It is just this sort of imperialist arrogance that Roque Dalton is familiar with. Forced into exile to Cuba by the puppet authorities in his native land, he knows that the news printed and telecast throughout Latin America is dominated by UPI and AP. He knows that most literate Latin Americans can discourse at length on any of a dozen U.S. plays, movies, novels and poems; and that in the United States not one in a thousand people have ever heard of El Salvador, not to mention Roque

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Michael Myerson's recent books are *Memories of Underdevelopment: The Revolutionary Films of Cuba* (Grossman, 1973) and *Watergate: Crime in the Suites* (International, 1973). He visited the Democratic Republic of Korea in 1970 as a journalist, and has recently joined the editorial board of *Korea Focus*.

Dalton, the Salvadorean poet.

At home in Havana, the writer is now associated with Casa de las Americas, the prestigious Cuban publishing house which is unquestionably the most cosmopolitan in the hemisphere, *including* McGraw-Hill and Doubleday.

In the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, the revolutionary leadership has, since 1945, had to face a very concrete problem: For thousand of years Korea had been ravaged by one oppressor nation after another. In the course of colonial plunder, the people's own national culture had been suppressed for centuries. Moreover, today's Korea is a divided nation, the southern half subjugated by foreign dominance. The DPRK must not only save national traditions from the distortion of *centuries,* and do so in *decades;* it must not only be ever alert to penetration of the imperialist cultures which decay the lives of the compatriots in the South; but it must do something before accomplished prior to 1917: It must begin to build an entirely new cultural life, reversing the psychology of all hitherto existing society which has been based on the exploitation by the few of the labor of the many. In short the DPRK must not only save traditional Korean culture; it must begin to construct socialist Korean culture.

Nowhere can this task be measured so well as through the development of the DPRK cinema. I am not writing here of technique; each year the quality advances measurably. What is so striking is the content—socialist content.

While prostitution becomes a major area of employment for South Korean women, and advertisements in Seoul portray women as courtesans, the most heroic figures in DPRK movies are almost invariably women. Such DPRK films as "The Maid of Mt. Kumgang," "The Young Flower Girl" and "A True Daughter of the Party" portray Korean women as the best revolutionaries, the best fighters against imperialism, the best builders of a new society.

As these comments are being written, the New York Times reports that: the Metropolitan Museum of Art is closing down Tuesday nights and shortening its Sunday hours for economic reasons; the City Center has cut back on its senior citizen's and educational programs because they are unprofitable; the Museum of the City of New York closes its fifth floor on busy days because it can't hire enough guards; the Brooklyn Academy of Music is cutting its presentations of large dance companies in its Opera House in favor of smaller companies in more intimate halls, again for purposes of economy; the New York Philharmonic faces a deficit this year of nearly $2.5 million; the New York Regents are studying the possibility of eliminating busing to achieve integration of students; the city Board of Education is debating the question of paddling students for disciplinary reasons; the owners of the New York Giants and New York Jets are forcing a football players' strike. That's one day's news from the wide wide world of culture. Little wonder that pessimism is considered a necessary virtue for an artistic outlook in these United States.

Frederick Engels once wrote of human history prior to socialism as "prehistory." His point of course was that the full creative energies of a people could not be realized in an exploitative society. Roque Dalton's quotations from Gramsci and Lenin make much the same point. Socialist society is historically still a very recent development. There remain in every socialist country remnants of "prehistory," including prehistoric men and women. While Senator Henry Jackson prefers to see these cultural neanderthals as "dissidents," socialism wherever it exists, not least of all the DPRK, has set itself the task of creating new women and men.

FOR ADDITIONAL COMMENTARIES, TURN PAGE

By PHILIP BONOSKY

In 1959, after a visit to China, I spent about two weeks in the DPRK at the third writers conference there. Among other things I asked whether they would have "confessed" even under torture, to crimes that had not been committed by themselves or their compatriots. At that time, the US press was full of the sensational confessions made by two US officers captured by DRPK soldiers. They admitted during the war that they had dropped germs upon the population. Freed, they repudiated their confessions, claiming that they "confessed" under torture, and for the most part, the public here was induced to believe this, and, later still, the lurid incident of the US spy ship Pueblo in which the captain also confessed—and later took his confession back—was embodied in a prize-winning TV play.

Phillip Bonosky

I asked the Korean poet, who had spent time in Symgman Rhee's jails, and had had the bottoms of his feet bastinadoed—beaten to shreds with poles—whether he could have such "confessions" which reflected against his country in order to save his life?

I wrote his answer down: "Never! Because first it's not true. I'd never say it. They could shoot me. We have a saying: 'Every man must have a true death—a death he is not ashamed of.'"

I remember this answer—because this is exactly how the Korean people "answered" on a mass scale in resisting the hell of fire and steel visited on them by the U.S. for two long, bitter years, not to speak of the years of resistance before that to Japanese occupation.

If you don't understand this as representing the soul of the Korean people, then you can't understand its culture— certainly not if your presumption is the presumption of the captain of the spy ship who tried to drown himself—as he himself testified—by sticking his head in a bucket of water! Simple Simon tried to find a whale in a pail of water, and this man tried to save his honor there. Both of course failed.

But if U.S. "heroism" is dogged by the ludicrous—if the U-2 pilot Gary Powers, for instance chooses not to kill himself for $1500 a month (how could he collect his pay if he did?), and dozens of American Soldiers desert in Korea, and later, in Vietnam by the hundreds and thousands, where's heroism? There is none, none's possible, because the cause is a lousy one. And your books, films, art will echo that fact, disguise it as you may.

Roque Dalton wrestles with what is the central problem in life, and therefore in art: are we human, and is our struggle to further humanize ourselves worthy of our efforts?

One side of the world says no, it's all finished, and the beasts have taken over, starting with the beast in ourselves. And the other side says yes, it's just beginning, we're changing the world and we're changing ourselves to deserve the world that's changing.

The two can't meet—never on those terms. However, inside "our" world, as was true inside the inner, loyal, most true world of the Koreans during the Japanese occupation, exists another, still secret world—for most workers don't know of it—but it's the true world, and will triumph because we see triumph is inevitable. The Koreans triumphed and their art celebrates that fact—openly, "naively", joyously. On our "Western" ears this simple-minded" "joy falls like rocks. It seems not to be true.

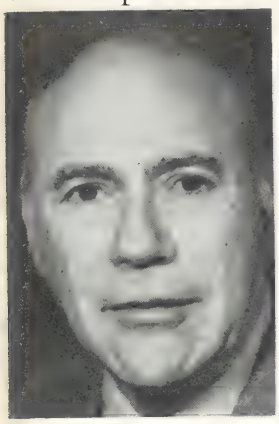
But, as any Korean child will tell you: yes, it's true. Just look! And the world his eyes see is true all over.

For, remembering the poet I talked to in Moscow, if every man and woman owes himself a true death, this means that he had made for himself a true life. And on that principle, a nation can build a soul—a culture— that will honor it, and those of us who look at the DPRK from afar, also rejoice, and remember.

Phillip Bonosky, author, publicist, editor, visited North Korea in 1959, and his brief stay there has remained a high spot in his travels in the socialist world. Bonosky is the author of five books, widely translated, and was at one time a co-editor of the monthly magazine, Mainstream. He was cultural editor of the Daily World for some years, and is at present at work on two books: "The Uncollected Essays of Sidney Finkelstein" and a book on the counter-culture in the USA.

By JOHN RANDOLPH

As an American actor who appreciated and supported the liberation struggle of the Korean people for their total freedom from all oppressors—whether Japanese, American or so-called U.N. troops under the American command—I read Roque Dalton's article "Green is the Pine" with great interest.



John Randolph

It stimulated my own thinking about the problems we actors and artists face in the United States in a society that equates success in culture with how much money one makes! This *distortion* of the creative spirit (whose sources and strength *should* pour from the citizen-artist's experiences deeply rooted in the life and struggles of the people around him) results in a distorted product. And this distorted end product alienates the artist and reduces him to being one more victim of a capitalist society whether he is consciously aware of it or not.

That is why I was so impressed by what the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's cultural leadership is trying to do. The approach is dynamic and exciting—whether it will work remains a question in my mind. My experience tells me that creating a work of art—play, film, sculpture, dance, music or painting can't be done on an order alone. Specifically, a theme that stimulates Kim Il Sung ("On Creating Revolutionary Literature and Art") as a subject for a revolutionary film may not necessarily stimulate a writer.

On the other hand a direction is consciously pointed out to an artist, an *objective* other than the dollar or comfort or egotistical personal desires. The direction leads the artist to the inexhaustible wells of the peoples' experience and their lives and if they open themselves wide to that world, I too, feel that in the end the results should be magnificent—both national and universal in content and form.

I do, however, find myself in disagreement with the attitude of some Korean friends toward jazz in which it is referred to as "an ideological weapon of the imperialists to degenerate revolutionary people. . . . We should thoroughly reject jazz."

Perhaps I don't understand the reasoning but I feel, deeply, that this is a simplistic approach to a complicated subject and that there is another side to the coin that has not been explored.

I was introduced to jazz and spirituals and blues through the left wing movement as the only thoroughly original music to come out of America and which expressed the deepest feelings of the Black experience as slaves, poverty ridden and relegated to second class citizenship.

It was an expression of revolt in song and musical expression—a revolt against music that did not reflect how the Black people in America felt about the world they were forcefully brutalized in. The blues and spirituals and jazz became a re-affirmation of life that asserted its vitality and hopes—and sorrows—in spite of the slave society. Of course this music was picked up by white artists who capitalized on it and got rich on it while their Black brothers who created it continued to live in poverty and misery. But many of the white artists who became great jazz men were themselves victims of the exploiting society.

Jazz itself should not be condemned—its true origins should be studied and recognized and not summarily dismissed in a sentence.

What do you think about getting some opinions about this from Black and white musicians in the field? I'd love to hear what they say.

John Randolph is currently co-starring opposite Al Pacino, as Chief Inspector Sid Green in "Serpico"; also co-starring in "There Was A Crooked Man" with Henry Fonda; "Pretty Poison", "Little Murders" and "Second." Soon to be seen in "Earthquake" for Universal. Has been in several TV award winners: "A Continual Roar of Musketry" (The Bold One) (The Senator); "The Day They Closed Tim Reilly's Bar": "Tell Me Where It Hurts" and starred opposite Shelly Winters in "Death of Innocence." He is also very proud of having been a hostile witness against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1955 and a trustee of the Angela Davis Legal Fund. Randolph is proud too of having been awarded a placque by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

ART, LIFE AND SOCIALISM

By HOWARD L. PARSONS

The original and generic human art is the art of collectively keeping alive and the art of enjoying life. People must *survive* and *vivify* their lives. These are their two deepest demands. Without survival there is nothing for us.

Howard L. Parsons

With survival, but without a *lively*, vividly fulfilled existence our lives are empty.

Art is our way of achieving survival and vivification. For more than a million years primitive people survived by communally inventing and using weapons and tools for securing food, clothing, shelter, defense, and other necessities. They developed the arts of language and firemaking, of social life, of hunting, fishing, and food-gathering, of observation, experiment, and practice with regard to plants, animals, habitats, resources, birds, fish, the insects, sun, moon, seasons, and stars. They fashioned virtually every kind of tool, weapon, and utensil. They created techniques for preparing and preserving food, domesticating plants and animals, and for making pottery, buckskin, textiles, boats, houses, medicines, musical instruments, paints, means of travel, etc.

All these means of survival and the enjoyment of life were arts in the broad and deeply human sense—crafts of skill which secured the existence of the social group and vivified it.

Let me illustrate. A modern hammer is a tool skillfully adapted to its end, a marvel of design, with an economy of material, shape, and line. Such a tool is the cumulative consequence of thousands of artists (artisans) working to produce a means to life that becomes beautiful in the use and useful in its beauty. As one artfully swings a hammer to build a house and home for human lives and enjoyment, one feels alive with its skillfully crafted power to do the job; one feels no split between art and life.

But in bourgeois class-society, work is split from enjoyment. "Art" means "fine" (elitist) or "popular" ("commercial") art split from the daily struggles of the masses to live, owned and utilized by ruling groups hiring prostituted specialists to create works that (1) put profits in their pockets and (2) seek to *divert* and *demoralize* the masses with respect to their demands for survival and vivification. The diversion of media art—such as advertising, a $20 billion annual business—is monopoly's new opiate, now that religion is declining.

Far from being a means of understanding, controlling, and vivifying the lives of the working masses—as true art is—such fake art becomes an escape, a cynical commentry, and an incessant obsession with titillations. With a jaded public increasingly exploited by the monopolists of art, escape vaporizes in fantasy, cynicism becomes violence, and titillation degenerates into pornography. The military "art" of the imperialists in Korea and Indochina displayed all three.

Socialism is the people's radical struggle to turn around this whole dehumanizing process of class society by eradicating class rule. Socialism is the valuable effort to recover in scientific form the primitive, communal unity of art and human life, under the rule of modern communism. Because a socialist revolution smashes the imperialist prostitution of people and art, it gives back to the people their own lives, to preserve their lives and create them

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Howard L. Parsons, one of this country's distinguished philosophers, is presently Chairman of the Philosophy Department at the University of Bridgeport. He is the author of numerous books, monographs and articles, including *Humanism And Marx's Thought, Dialogue On The Philosophy of Marxism,* which he co-edited with John Somerville, and many others. He is a founding sponsor of the American Institute of Marxist Studies, and an Associate Editor of the International Journal for Philosophy of Religion. As a founding sponsor of the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center, he also served for a time as its first Chairman. He is presently a member of its Executive Board and member of the Editorial Board of its publication, Korean Focus.

vividly day by day.

It is beautiful and life-affirming to see how the Korean people in the DPRK have done and are doing this today. When our AKFIC delegation was in the DPRK in August, 1971, I wrote on the art of the Korean people:

"Such a revolutionary morale is also destined to create a flowering of the finer forms of human life—of poetry, music, song, dance, drama, opera, and other expressions of culture. Art with your people is not an activity that is set aside to be enjoyed by the privileged few for its own sake. It is a spontaneous expression within a way of life which meets the essential needs of both body and spirit, and thus releases the creative potentiality in all people. Your guerrilla warfare was an art, and the guerrillas themselves created their own music and drama. Your defeat of the military might of U.S. imperialists in their effort to destroy and subjugate your country was an art of a high order. Your creation of a machine-building industry was an art.

So was the development of irrigation, electrification, mechanization, and chemicalization in agriculture, and the coordination of the sectors of the economy. We have seen and heard the art of your children, young people, and young adults, who display talent and skill in music and dance, which for us has been a joy to experience." —*Korea Focus* Vol. II No. 4

Art Forms for Socialist Expression

By FRED J. CARRIER

The following is not a commentary on Dalton's article but, rather, some observations on the practices of the DPRK in the popular and fine arts. The brief essay below is excerpted from my book, *North Korean Journey—the Revolution Against Colonialism*, which will be published this fall by the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center.

Fred J. Carrier

During my visit to the DPRK I paid special attention to cultural aspects of the revolution. What was very striking is that the revolution demands new content for the arts. Revolutionary art must convey collective and democratic ideas, but to do that successfully—that is, to arouse the emotions which impel human beings to embrace socialist goals actively—there must be a marriage of ideas with popular forms. The national culture must be utilized creatively and selectively to provide art forms for new socialist expression.

This is what I believe Kim Il Sung has urged and this is what I found being done.

At the Student and Children's Palace in Pyongyang, fun is often blended with politics as a group of children demonstrated by a hand-puppet show in which animals were used to encourage the idea of loving labor. An ambitious racoon goes fishing one day, and after his first catch he places the fish in a basket. While the racoon returns to his fishing, a lazy but sly fox manages to steal the fish and gulp it down. When the racoon makes a second catch he returns to the basket but, to his dismay, there is no other fish! Perplexed but undaunted, the racoon returns to his work, but after a third catch and a still empty basket he has had more than enough of exploitation. This time he uses the third fish as bait, placing a hook in it before pretending to return to work. From his hiding place the racoon watches the fox sneak to the basket to swallow the fish, hook and all. This time the fox is hooked as all the children applaud.

In one dance studio a group of girls about

Fred J. Carrier is Professor of European Social-Intellectual History at Villanova University. Co-Chairman, American-Korean Friendship and Information Center, he is a member of the American Historical Association, the American Association of University Professors and the Radical Historians Organization.

the age of 10 put on an amazingly skillful performance of Korean dance and classical ballet. They moved as gracefully as Asian women can, so it was natural to marvel at their talent. But the marvel is equally in the society which makes available excellent training to talent, not wealth, thus discovering among the children of workers a vast human potential.

Recently on American television I heard a show called "The Advocates" seriously debate the question whether college education should be for everyone. A professor from New York University (better left unnamed) advanced the argument that culture along the lines of Beethoven and Tolstoy can only be appreciated by 5 per cent of the people—the point of his arrogance being, why waste a liberal college education on the other 95 per cent?!

If that professor had meant to state a fact about the current tastes of the American people that would have been one thing; but to advocate the perpetual denial of the treasures of a civilization to the mass of young people is shameless class apologetics.

In the emphasis that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is placing upon technical knowledge, it is important that every child is encouraged to love music, dance, theater and literature. There will be no uncultured second class of workers or peasants.

Proof that the cultural revolution involves both a heightened political consciousness and the expansion of knowledge of Korean culture was provided in many beautiful ways. Perhaps the most inspiring was a program by the Children's National Orchestra, led by a 15-year-old boy and accompanied by a choir of 250 children. With an exuberance that turns proficiency into art these children offered a program that would have honored any nation.

To tell part of the program is to tell the way in which art conduces to political consciousness. An opening number by orchestra and choir confidently rendered the lovely lyrics, "We Have Nothing to Envy." Later in the program we saw the fruit of the musical training given at the Children's Palace when a ballet troupe of 55 children performed a paean in honor of the revolution. Some of the dance numbers told stories such as "Red Tie on the Railroad Line," in which some children decoy a bombing attack in order to save a train, or "Thanks to the People's Army" where Young Pioneers raise vegetables to feed the soldiers.

The finale was a rousing hymn in honor of Kim Il Sung, "Long Life to Our Fatherly Leader." A capacity audience warmly received each number, establishing an emotional link with the children which could be sensed by anyone in the hall. The message was clearly getting through.

A few themes seem predominant in the entertainment provided by cinema, TV and literature. More often than not, the story deals with war, either the guerilla struggle waged against the Japanese or the Korean War. As early as 1951 that theme was advanced by Kim Il Sung who urged writers "to vividly express the lofty patriotism and valiant fighting spirit of our people, as well as their absolute conviction of ultimate victory."

In some ways the film offerings are reminiscent of Hollywood, for there are stock villains —the greedy Japanese landlord, the collaborator with imperialism, the arrogant American general, the drunken U.S. soldiers; and stock heroes embody love of fatherland, sacrifice for the people, dedication to the revolution.

There are also important differences, for in none of the war pictures is violence splashed across the screen. In fact, the grimness of war is often relieved by musical renditions such as a soldier recalling his home or a group of soldiers singing about why they are fighting

The American-Korean Friendship and Information Center will soon publish its first paperback book. Written by Prof. Fred Carrier, co-chairman of AKFIC and contributing editor of Korea Focus, it will be litled "North Korean Journey—The Revolution Against Colonialism." A few of the chapter headings of the 200-page book are:

"The Struggle Against a Colonial Economy."

"Education for Socialism."

"A Society of Workers: Life in Pyongyang and Hambung."

National Independence and Unification: Historical Perspective."

or their future goals.

One of the most popular themes concerns the family separated by war, as in the revolutionary opera "Song of Mt. Kum Gang-San," which has also been made into a film. Against a background of lovely music and mountain scenery, a family forced to flee by Japanese aggression is reunited after 20 years of sorrow. Such is the simple but poignant story which touches upon the experience of many thousands of Koreans whose families are separated because of war or the continued division of the country. Love of family and hope for a united Korea are two ideals strongly encouraged by the cultural revolution.

A word more about the esthetic principles which underlie "revolutionary" art, since to many Americans popular Korean art would appear trite or contrived. Always the purpose of the arts is to teach some revolutionary idea by depicting the struggle between the old and the new, thus showing in what ways the new socialist Korea is better than the colonial society. While that might seem obvious the fact is that in many instances young Koreans lack personal experiences to make comparisons.

For instance, if one is less than 30 years of age he could not even remember a landlord. But as Kim Il Sung has suggested, "Can we allow ourselves to forget the landlord when the landlord does not forget us, who confiscated his land?"

What happened to some of the landlords is depicted in a film called "Defenders of Hill 1211" about the Korean War. A young Korean soldier who had been the son of a hired farmhand comes face to face with the former landlord who had often humiliated both father and son. The landlord had fled southward in 1945 to become an officer in the puppet South Korean army. Now he appears as an invader who wishes to reimpose the exploitative capitalist system. Such a theme is ideologically warranted, but whether it is handled well or not esthetically is a judgment to be made by Korean audiences, the people.

There is also an attempt to convey a special set of humanistic values through the arts. Men create the arts, but the arts in turn express a view of life which fashions human consciousness. For socialist Korea it is important that the people's consciousness reject

This embroidery of peacock is in the finest tradition of the ancient art of Korean embroidery.

colonialism or what is called "flunkeyism." Hating the enemy is not sufficient, but people must be inspired to love their own working class and their homeland.

Thus the heroes of the arts should be workers who are likeable, strong men and women committed to the revolution, cheerful even in the face of adversity, confident of overcoming every obstacle. They must not appear either as automatons or as individuals obsessed with their personal goals.

"It is necessary to emphasize the fact that it is not the machine but the man that plays the decisive role in production," says Kim Il Sung, "and to assert clearly the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, that great life is created not by the strength of one or two outstanding individuals but by the struggle of millions of working people conscious of their historical mission."

An Artist's View of the Rural World in 18th Century Korea

By DR. ROBERT ANTE

Often the most interesting discoveries of a journey are made at home. While in Pyongyang the AKFIC delegation visited the National Museum of Fine Arts. We had the very good fortune to have as our guides Mr. Cheoi Hong-pap, the Director of the museum, and his very able and attractive assistant. His appearance and visible enthusiasm showed Mr. Cheoi to be a hard working director who takes great delight and pride in the operation and contents of the museum.

Robert Ante

Despite the director's leisurely and informative commentaries, sometimes lingering on at one of his favorite art pieces or something that caught our eye, he had an impossible task. One afternoon cannot do justice to even a brief survey of a people's cultural attainments, especially when the

Photos by Robert Ante

Dr. Robert Ante is a specialist in Far Eastern-Mongolian Studies and Economic Geography.

tradition is as old and refined as that of the Korean people.

The museum contains excellent reproductions of works found in a IV Century tomb, a number of paintings ranging from the XV Century to the present day, as well as fine embroideries and sculptures.

Luckily, I had my Leica along and took photographs, which are reproduced here, as we ambled through the halls. These photographs held a pleasant surprise. The first time I viewed my photographs, I was fascinated by a series of paintings depicting rural life in Korea during the XVIII century. Since my notes do not reveal the name of the artist—if the artist is known—he must remain anonymous.

(1) The first of the panels is set in the spring during the plowing season. The fields are being prepared for cropping by the peasants. In the fields, buffalos are harnessed for draught and for plowing, just as they are today. Near the center of the painting a man is carrying an A-frame, Korea's contribution to modern hiking and camping. Another A-frame lies beside the field. In the lower left-hand corner, women and girls are about to gather herbs and roots. Inside the house, a woman is nursing her child. At the top left-hand side, women are planting dry-field crops. These are the peasants.

(Continued on page 34)

Preparing the fields.

Theater: A scene from the stage play "A True Daughter of the Party".

PEOPLE'S ART AND CULTURE IN THE DPRK

Performer Artists of the National Pyongyang Circus.

Graphic Arts: An oil painting by a Korean People's artist.

Glassware, ceramics, and pottery: An example of the exquisite work produced by the People's artisans of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Music: A people's concert in the DPRK.

)ance: People's Artists of the renowned Mansudae Art Troupe.

ovies: A scene from the classic revolutionary motion ture "The Sea of Blood".

Excerpt from the New Year's Day (1974) address by President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

"Last year (1973), the writers and artists created revolutionary and militant literary and art works, greatly contributing to the revolutionization and working-classization of the working people and widely demonstrating to the whole world the vitality of the socialist literature and art of our country. Particularly, our writers, artists and pressmen proceeded to the production sites and powerfully encouraged and roused the workers and peasants in the production drive, while tempering themselves. The Party highly appreciates the active contribution made by the writers, artists and pressmen to the fulfillment of the three revolutions through their revolutionary and militant literary and art and propaganda activities and direct participation in labor."

Opera: A scene from the immortal revolutionary masterpiece "The Flower Girl".

(Continued from page 31)

(2) The *second* panel shows the landlord's compound. The landlord, centered in the painting, is smoking his long pipe and overseeing the people at work. In the lower right-hand

Silk reeling and textile manufacture in the landlord's compound.

A summer outing.

corner, his children are being tutored inside the house. Inside the work area women are reeling silk and weaving cloth. In the background women and boys are picking apples. Nearby the landlord stands a younger member of his family, playing with bow and arrow. Notice the protective high wall which surrounds the landlord's house.

(3) The *third* panel depicts a summer outing. A picnic is in progress and men are strolling to the music of a flute. At the bottom of the picture, women are gracefully balancing bundles on their heads. I saw the same beautiful straight posture and smooth steps of neatly uniformed school-girls carrying their books and packages as we drove through the countryside.

(4) In the *fourth* panel, peasants are tending the paddy rice fields in the background, wrile in the center some peasants are relaxing and playing Chinese chess. Two children are carrying food to the peasants in the fields. Again we find the landlord leisurely strolling with his hands behind his back. Peasant women are doing various household-chores. In the lower right-hand corner, a woman is washing clothes by beating them on a stone at the edge of the stream. Even today women can be seen washing their clothes this very same way. That is why one of the goals of the current Six Year Plan (1971-1976) is to provide electric washing machines for the women of the DPRK.

Tending the paddy fields.

A fishing scene.

Autumn harvest.

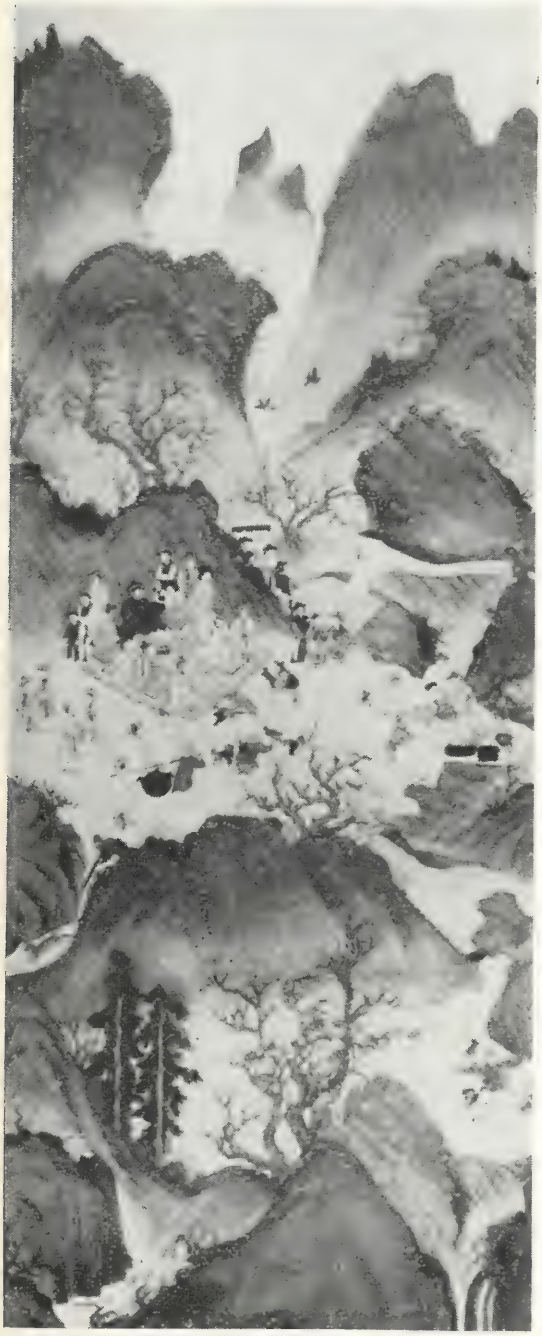
(5) The *fifth* panel is a fishing scene. Other fishermen are seen in the foreground drying nets and preparing fish. In the background vegetables are being carried to market by boat. Again we see the landlord, this time on a pleasure barge. Other members of the landlord class are loafing and smoking in front of the trees.

(6) Our pipe-smoking landlord is surveying the labors of his servants in the *sixth* panel. Autumn has arrived and the rice is being harvested and threshed. Workers are beating the

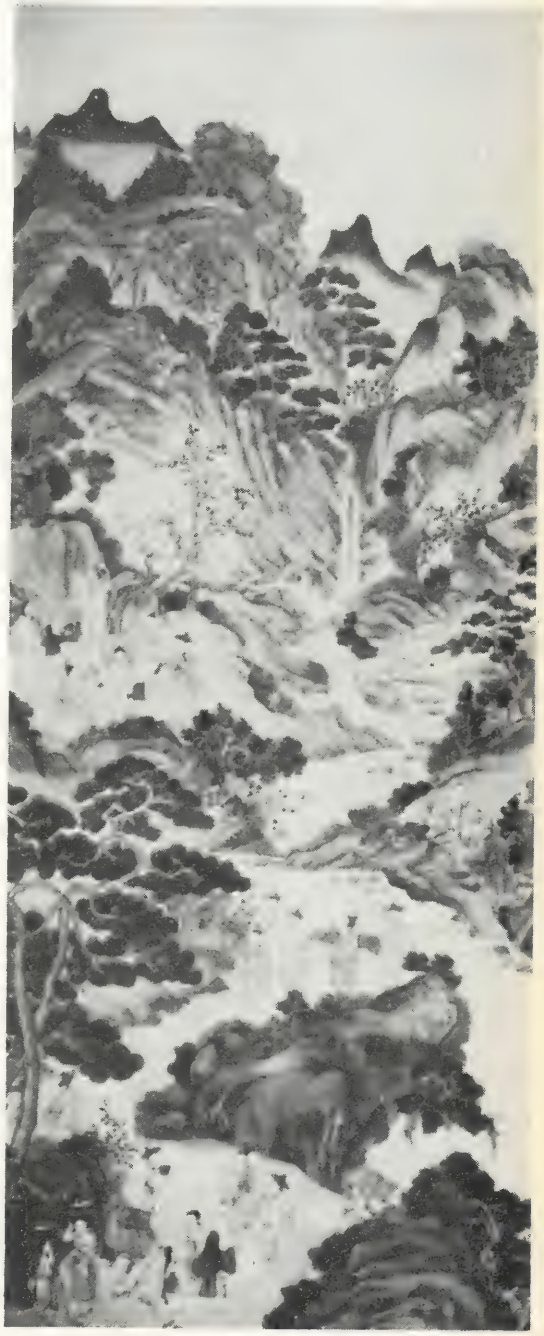
grain with a flail in the background while the landlord's family relaxes inside the gazebo and the house.

(7) A village fair brings people and goods by land and water in the *seventh* panel. Some of the merchants must take a ferry across the river to the village.

(8) The *last* panel depicts a hunting scene during the fall. The hunter with a gun places the painting within the XVIII Century, while



A village fair.



A hunting season.

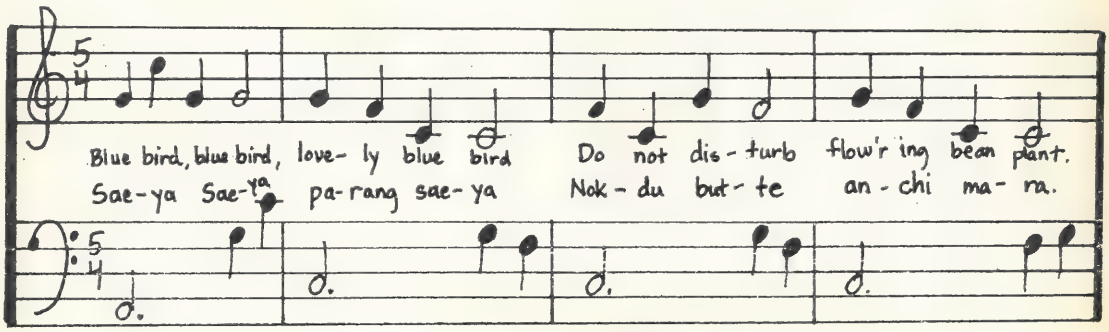
Painting by Anthony Toney depicting U.S. Army's destruction in Vietnam, gift of the painter to Pyongang's National Museum of Fine Arts.

a hunter in the lower right hunts by a more traditional method with a falcon. A gentry family enjoys a Fall picnic in the center of the painting.

Of course, this series of paintings idealizes the rural world of XVIII Century Korea. Nevertheless, they attest to the level of technological development and the existing class relationships of the time. Shortly thereafter, rural Korea became a part of the world capitalist market and the economic situation of the peasants deteriorated rapidly and consistently.

Our delegation was not satisfied with only receiving. The delegation presented to the Korean people a number of reproductions of the work of Ralph Facinella which now seem to share a certain similarity of feeling with the eight paintings discussed. The pride of the delegation was a magnificent painting by Anthony Toney—a gift of the artist—protesting the bestiality of the U.S. forces in their aggression against the people of Vietnam.

파랑새 (Bluebird - "Parangsai")



2. If the flow'r falls no bean will grow.
Jelly maker'll go home in tears.

파랑새

1. 새야 새야 파랑새야
녹두 밭에 앉지 마라

2. 녹두 꽃이 떨어지면
청포장사 울고간다.

Koreans, old and young alike, love to sing "Parangsai", a song which tells us that the early farmers made jelly from the Indian green bean. Some believe this is the oldest folk song known in Korea, originating during the Silla Dynasty (57 B.C.-935 A.D.)

The Charlotte Observer

Foremost Newspaper Of The Carolinas

Burned Villages, Broken Bodies Marked The Long Road To Seoul

A letter from Scott Oliver

Dear Mr. Gary:

I have long admired your writing style. Please permit me to share with you some experiences your features

ons. It mattered not. The reason was adequate.

MOST OFTEN when we burned the villages I watched the

of days out of Inchon when I finally good look at the civilian dead. There had been others, probably a great many, for the air and

them, and if they weren't dead, but only badly hurt, I still couldn't do anything. That was a job for corps-men and chaplains and the like

see, or any arms or legs mis But, she was quite dead. Th wasn't much doubt about that. lay on her back with this little

Editor's note: A Korean national named Sang Am Kim living in North Carolina was killed in an accident. He was a Christian and his family had no money to return his body to South Korea for burial. Kays Gary, a columnist for the Charlotte Observer, launched a campaign to help raise money to enable the family to send the body to his homeland. In the course of the fund drive, Gary received a number of letters, among them the remarkable one from Scott D. Oliver, reprinted here. Mr. Oliver is a retired Sergeant-Major of 25 years service in the U.S. Marine Corps. A veteran of World War II, he is the holder of numerous medals and citations. Now a retired postman, he is the father of two sons, one of whom served in the Vietnam war.

Dear Mr. Gary:

I have long admired your writing style. Please permit me to share with you some experiences your features on Mr. Kim brought back. As you often write . . . time was.

There was a time . . . 1950 . . . now so long ago that it seems not unlike a dream when I knew many Kim's, for it is not an unusual name for Korean men or boys.

On the road to Seoul.

There were many rifle and infantry companies in Korea. Each of them, I am sure, made their own mark, established and maintained a certain reputation. We were no different. We, too, had a reputation.

Our company could be followed by the trail of ruin and destruction that stretched beyond yesterday and into the past. Were I forced to say the one word that described our exploits, I would use the word Cruelty. For this was our mark . . . our reputation.

Even though there were many of us in the company who did not subscribe to the actions taken, and who, moreover, did what little we could to alleviate the pain and suffering, particularly of the innocent bystanders of the conflict, it is a mantle that lies draped all over our shoulders.

There were, I believe, within the company, men who were completely mad. There were many, I believe, who will in the future, assuming they survived, be heard from in the committing of shocking crimes. And further, I believe the seeds of our own destruction were planted deep within the company. If there is a higher justice we must, someday, be struck down and made to pay.

Our path could be followed by the trail of blackened villages in our wake. Seemingly, it made little or no difference if a village was unoccupied or teeming with people. The word still came down . . . burn it. Not only did we burn villages, we burned individual homes. We burned barns. We burned haystacks. We burned trucks. We burned anything and everything that could be consumed by the raging flames.

This is war, one might say. It is to be expected. Fair enough. But, we did not normally

warn the villagers their homes were marked for destruction. We did not say to them, "In five minutes we shall burn your village." Nor did we say to them "You may have time to remove your possessions." No, we fired them in passing, even often while smiling at the old men and little children. Any excuse, any reason sufficed. A suspected guerilla hideout. A sniper hid out in a house. A cache of weapons. It mattered not. The reason was adequate.

Most often when we burned the villages I watched the men who were watching the flames. Quite often they laughed at the antics of the villagers and their puny efforts to reclaim and save their possessions. In high glee they watched the women throw themselves prostrate on the ground and moan and sob.

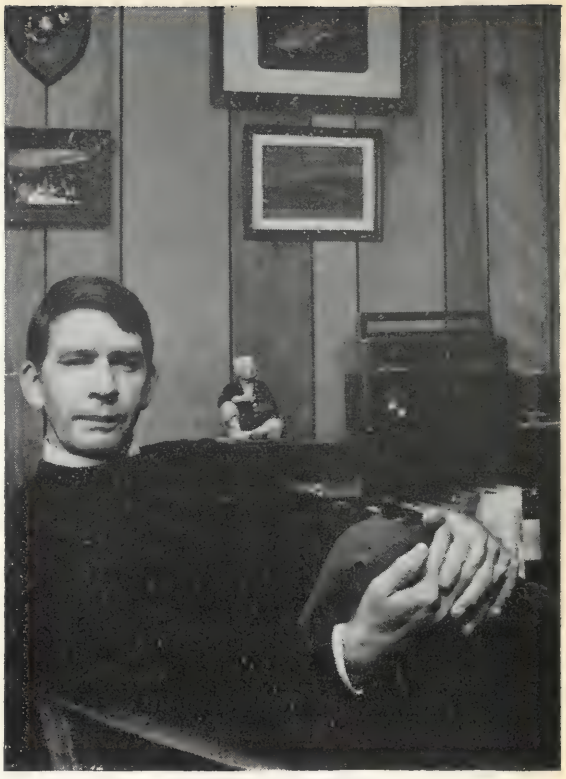
But ah, one might say, if I was against it . . . if I did not believe it was always necessary, what did I do about it?

A Marine rifle company in close combat is not a democracy. I was well trained, perhaps too well. Orders are orders. There were always things I was not aware of. How was I to know whether or not such orders descended from on high?

And even, disregarding all of this, and having the courage to speak out, to whom could I speak? To whom could I have said: "this is, I believe, wrong and cruel"? There was no one, no one at all. I had to accept what was being done, moreover had to participate in it. Therefore, I was not the least of the guilty, but maybe the most, because I had reservations, yet did not voice them.

The captain commanding the company did not accept advice from his officers, in fact their unsolicited opinions tended to fill him with anger. I often heard him speak out to them, saying, "Listen, you stupid bastard of a lieutenant, if I want or need your advice I'll ask for it."

. . . THE PAIN AND SUFFERING . . . OF THE INNOCENT BYSTANDERS . . . IS A MANTLE THAT LIES DRAPED OVER ALL OUR SHOULDERS



SCOTT D. OLIVER

I was not even an officer. Was it not wishful thinking that he would listen to me?

Before we embarked aboard the LST and left Japan bound for the invasion of Inchon, we were told a great many things. Many of them I promptly forgot as one normally does when he is lectured at great length by a poor speaker. Yet some of the things I can recall as vividly as the first time I heard them.

There would be, we were told, many civilians on the battlefield. This was the first time in a long period that Marines would go into action where there were towns and villages. So, the speaker continued: You are going to have to be careful and make sure before you fire that your target is not an innocent child or women.

Well, as I said before, although I can still recall the words, within a month's time I sometimes thought I must have been the only one that attended that lecture.

We weren't more than a couple of days out of Inchon when I finally took a real good look at the civilian dead. There had been others,

. . . I WAS NOT THE LEAST OF THE GUILTY, BUT MAYBE THE MOST, BECAUSE I HAD RESERVATIONS, YET DID NOT VOICE THEM

probably a great many, for the air and ship bombardment was very heavy before we landed, but I hadn't seen them, other than some in the village by the beach where we landed.

To be truthful I had not really looked for them, for if they were dead I couldn't do anything. That was a job for corpsmen and chaplains and the like.

The first woman and little boy I really looked at and saw dead were lying in a ditch alongside the road, just around a curve from a small hill. The woman wasn't really banged up too badly. She didn't have any real bad cuts or torn places I could see, or any arms or legs missing. But, she was quite dead. There wasn't much doubt about that. She lay on her back with this little boy, who was, I judge, about 2, kind of beneath her. She had both her arms flung out and when I saw her flies and maggots were swarming over her. The little boy didn't have a head. It was completely gone. Strangely enough, it wasn't anywhere in the vicinity. For a little while I thought about, then gave up trying to figure it out. Maybe, although I hated to think about it, the large rats that followed us had it.

Perhaps seeing the dead woman and her child was an omen, for after that I saw a great many hurt civilians, both women and children, and ancient old men. Some of these injuries, and I really disliked to think this, although I witnessed the acts, were caused by Marines.

One afternoon I saw gullwinged Corsairs, that we had called in, work over a village, strafing and napalming it. When we entered the remains of the village and began to poke through the rubble, the smell of cooked flesh hung so heavy and sickening in the air that it made one's stomach jump and twitch.

I couldn't imagine any pilot doing these things on purpose, so I was inclined to forgive them, since they were undoubtedly carrying out a mission. But . . . and this did bother me, some one had to call in the Corsairs and point out the target, and this had to be someone on the ground, moreover someone from my company.

Maybe the pilots hadn't ever seen what napalm could do to a small child. Maybe they were so accustomed to being in the wild blue yonder where the air is nice and clean that the smell of death was foreign to them.

Another thing that bothered me at first, but didn't after a while, was the innate cruelty of many Americans toward what was commonly referred to as "gooks." The fact that this ceased to bother me after a while, did in itself bother me, for it made me realize I had changed and begun to accept as normal what had shocked me a scant few days before.

It seemed that each day, and on some days, many times, I would see Marines strike or kick at the civilians. The fact that often these were quite elderly men, or even children, did not seem to concern the kicker.

There were many of us against it. The lieutenant leading my platoon was against it. I was against it. The squad leaders were against it. But any leader in close and sustained combat, no matter how much of an effort he puts out, is somewhat limited in controlling the people in his charge. It is often just physically impossible to see everyone.

Any Korean, young and fair, old and feeble, carrying anything of value that could be readily seen, was normally the target for a quick pair of hands. The fact that at home these men abhorred petty thieves and robbers apparently never entered their minds. They justified their actions, as I have often heard, by saying, after all, "We are in combat, and these are 'gooks'."

One day, it does not matter when, although it was late autumn, we came to a new place, a place we had not seen before. It could have been a lovely place and was, I daresay, in summer when the flowers bloomed and the leaves were in heavy foliage. But this was fall and the leaves were gone, the trees bare, the flowers dead. The heavy autumn rains beat relentlessly upon the face of the barren land, soaking both the dormant rice fields and the weary Marines who walked forth in search of people.

Yet, though we searched far and wide, we did not find people. It was an empty land, a land where only the whistling wind sweeping through the valleys kept up company as we walked the deserted roads. There were houses,

THE LITTLE BOY DIDN'T HAVE A HEAD. IT WAS COMPLETELY GONE . . . MAYBE THE LARGE RATS THAT FOLLOWED US HAD IT

to be sure, and even small villages . . . at first. But after burning them, there remained nothing living. No people. no trees, no flowers.

And then one day, born of a young Marine's insatiable curiosity, we found the people. Found them by the dozens and hundreds . . . all the people from miles around who had for generations unknown tilled this empty land. They had, upon hearing we were on the way, taken refuge in a large coal mine, one of the many that dotted this particular area of North Korea.

Upon receiving the report of the discovery of the people, the captain led the company across the soggy, rain-soaked fields to the mouth of the mine. Here, he dispatched a number of Marines into the dark passages that led deep into the chamber where the people waited.

Led by the captain, for lack of courage was not one of his faults, the Marines found an entire community living underground. Old people died, babies were born, people became ill and others recovered, all far beneath the surface of the ground.

Here the people were separated. The old men and women, the very young children and the babies were forced to the mouth of the mine where a number of us waited, under orders to send them to their homes and villages. Go, we told them, go, we said by gestures and prodding them with our rifles, to and return to your homes. Yet, even as we told them and

U.S. troops burning a home during the Korean war.

forced them to go we knew they would find nothing in the cold, rainy dusk, nothing but ashes and the moaning of the wind.

Inside the mine the captain retained the young girls. Each member of the company selected the one that appealed to him, and taking her a bit down the mine shaft threw her to the ground. For days thereafter this became the main topic with the company, stories of rape at pistol point, or carbine knife.

Later this night, after we returned to our positions we held beside the railroad embankment, I walked out on the beach and watched

THE SMELL OF COOKED FLESH HUNG SO HEAVY AND SICKENING IN THE AIR THAT IT MADE ONE'S STOMACH JUMP AND TWITCH

the breakers swirl. For a long time I was puzzled . . . no answers coming to the questions I could not form in my mind. Finally, the only answer I could arrive at was they were North Koreans, and therefore, our enemy. And if that not be the answer . . . what is?

I could continue, Mr. Gary, but it is pointless. If there is a point in the whole, rambling tale, it is that Mr. Kim, no doubt, saw us at our worst, and still believed we were a people worthy of joining for a new life.

He had a soul and a heart, and a family who loved and mourned him, and he deserves better from us than what he is getting. Do we not still have troops in Korea? Do not our jet aircraft still fly into Kimpo? Isn't Pope AFB full of large silver birds taking off hourly for somewhere? What the hell is a small, skinny dead Korean going to take up in the cargo manifest? Maybe displace a few cartons of coke, or PX supplies?

This situation doesn't reflect on the late Mr. Kim. It reflects on us, for somewhere along the path we have lost something as a people, and it might be well to reflect on what it was, and if possible, to recapture it.

Sincerely,
Scott Oliver
S. D. OLIVER

. . . RAPE AT PISTOL POINT OR CARBINE KNIFE . . . SOMEWHERE ALONG THE PATH WE HAVE LOST SOMETHING AS A PEOPLE

The Korean War— 24 Years Later

Twenty-four years ago, on June 25, 1950, the Korean War broke out. The fact of U.S. aggression in Korea is well documented. The U.S. sent some 300,000 troops, an entire fleet, and the air capability of 1,000 sorties a day. Many new methods of warfare, including chemical-biological warfare were tried out in Korea. Nearly every method of counter-insurgency, later to be perfected in Vietnam, was intitiated in Korea. But, after three years of bitter fighting, the myth of U.S. invincibility was destroyed. After two years of stalled negotiations, with fighting stalemated along the 38th parallel, a ceasefire agreement was finally signed on July 27, 1953. To this day, however, no peace agreement has ever been concluded.

Although all other foreign troops have been withdrawn from Korea, over 40,000 U.S. troops remain stationed in South Korea today. U.S. military advisors in South Korea admit that there is no military threat from North Korea. But Park Chung Hee declares that the continued stationing of U.S. troops in South Korea are "essential to political stability" in the region. And it appears that the U.S. has no intention of withdrawing military support for the Park government.

SALUTE TO THE DPRK

ON THE 29th ANNIVERSARY

OF LIBERATION DAY

AUGUST 15, 1945

SOUTH KOREAN CHRISTIANS BATTLE PARK DICTATORSHIP

By RICHARD L. DEATS

"The government cannot continue as it is. It is on a collision course with the people. The crash is less than a year away, and somebody is going to win, and somebody lose—either the people or the government."

These words were spoken last November by Kim Dae Jung, prominent and highly popular South Korean opposition political leader, after finishing 71 days under house arrest. Kim's abduction last August made world headlines when he was kidnapped in a Tokyo hotel by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and spirited back to Korea. A Roman Catholic layman, he symbolizes the growing resistance to the Park regime that has been especially pronounced in the vigorous Christian community there.

Korea, like the Philippines, is a client state of the U.S. The two countries were among the few nations supportive of the U.S. role in Vietnam; they have both seen their democratic traditions in recent years replaced by one-man rule; and they receive substantial U.S. military support. (Korea, with 20,000 American troops, has the second largest U.S. troop presence in Asia.) It is of note that the two countries also have the highest percentage of Christians of any countries in Asia and in both there is growing resistance to the government by the Christian community.

Park Chung Hee came to power in 1961 as a result of a military coup. He was elected president in 1963 and re-elected in 1967. By 1969 his rule had become increasingly dictatorial and he had the constitution amended to allow himself to run for a third term. In October of 1972, he declared martial law and imposed a new Constitution (the "Yushin Constitution") which gave him virtually unlimited powers and an indefinite tenure in office.

Park has pushed for rapid economic growth and, from afar, the great increase in the Gross National Product seems impressive. Goods "made in the Republic of Korea" are now frequently found in department stores and discount houses in the United States and other countries. However, economic gains have been mainly at the top; very little "trickles down" to the workers and peasants. Hasegawa Kazuto* has observed, "During the much-heralded economic boom of 1973 (GNP up nearly 20%), most South Koreans not only became poorer relative to the rich but also poorer relative to 1972. For nearly two-thirds of the people, real income actually *declined* during the boom."

Before joining the staff of the FOR, Richard Deats worked in Asia from 1959-1972. He had one extended visit to Korea during which time he met with leaders of the Urban Industrial Mission and other involved in the social witness of the Korean churches.

Widespread corruption and growing economic control by Japan only served to heighten the dissatisfaction with Park. This latter is a highly emotional factor to the Koreans who have vivid memories of their colonial control by Japan from 1910 to 1945 and who are alarmed by the growth of Japanese loans, investments and tourism over the past year and a half.

These factors have combined to bring opposition to the government increasingly into the open in recent months. The resistance has been non-violent in nature as writers, journalists, opposition political leaders, and church leaders with mounting boldness and vigor have pressed for democratic changes. The Christian community is central in this resistance.

Of South Korea's 32-million citizens, 3.8-million are Protestant and 800,000 Roman Catholic. The nationalist movement during the Japanese period had strong leadership from the Protestant community. Today, according to the estimates of one highly informed mis-

* Pen name for a journalist who must keep his identity secret for obvious reasons and to whom I am very indebted for a number of valuable insights.

sionary, a small minority of the Christians strongly support the dictatorship, one-half do not take sides, and one-third (including many of the leaders) are extremely concerned and their opposition is growing.

Korean Christianity traditionally has, for the most part, emphasized personal salvation and ignored the social dimension of the Gospel. Buffered by a strong anti-communism, little criticism was made of the 312,000 Korean troops sent to Vietnam, or of the atrocities in which they participated. The ROK government has firmly opposed any involvement by the Church in social issues, including concern for slum dwellers or exploited workers and peasants, which is deemed "political" and not "religious."

On the other hand, Park has actively encouraged fundamentalist evangelism among the Armed Forces as long as it is silent (unless it be giving tacit support to the government). While Korean religious leaders demonstrating for democracy have been arrested, "safe" religious meetings and demonstrations are encouraged, such as the Billy Graham Crusades, as well as a demonstration last January by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon and his Unification Church in support of *President Nixon.***

** Czar Nicholas the II had only one Rasputin, the degenerate monk who tried to influence the Czarist autocratic rule.

Nixon, trying to outdo the Czar, has a full stable of Rasputins: Billy Graham, who has turned religion into a racket; the Catholic priest, Rev. John McLaughlin, who invokes the good name of the Lord to cover a muddied Nixon; and Rabbi Baruch Korff, he of the nauseating full page New York Times ads which try to fashion angelic wings on a disreputable Nixon. And now we have the South Korean Rev. Sun Hyung Moon, servant of two masters, Park Chung Hee and Nixon. While supporting and praising in the name of the Lord, the good deeds of Nixon, he is at the same time buying up property all over the U.S. and making other lucrative investments with hard-earned pennies collected from honest religious people. Is this an insurance against the day when he and Park Chung Hee will be running for their lives? When the South Korean people's patience has overflowed in anger and force these fascists to join the professional stable of "displaced freedom fighters" and "outstanding scholars on democratic thought in exile" in the ivory towers of Harvard, Yale and Princeton, whiling away their time fighting communism, "liberal democrats," "Jew boys, Blacks" and other so-called non-believers of the faith?

Editors Note

On May 5 a group of Japanese Christians placed an extraordinary full page ad in the *New York Times* calling upon American Christians to come to the aid of their Korean brothers and sisters, not only through their prayers, but in asking the U.S. government to "immediately stop its support and financing of the Park regime." Of the hundreds picked up most recently for interrogation, Professor Lee Uchung of Seoul's Women's College and president of Churchwomen United of Korea told her interrogators that the protesters were not communists but that they were Christians "working with the labor class and the oppressed, working in the slum areas and encouraging people to fight for their rights." "The students work," she said, "because Christ tells us to feed the hungry and give clothes to the naked."

South Koreans remember that the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee was overthrown by students in 1960. Many took heart when students overthrew the Thai dictatorship in October of 1973. The climax may be coming to the struggle in South Korea, brought on not by a bloody revolution but through non-violent means. We must not forget our Korean brothers and sisters in their hour of testing.

Prominent among Park's supporters is the Campus Crusade for Christ (CCC) which in 1968 received from the government choice land in Seoul for building a lucrative, ten-story rental structure. The CCC is planning a $1.5 million evangelistic campaign for August that will be called "Explo '74." The Korean NCC is refusing to cooperate with this campaign because of the close ties between the government and the CCC.

Those Christians who oppose the dictatorship have used a variety of non-violent techniques in their resistance. Easter of 1973, the pastor of Seoul's First Presbyterian Church and several of his colleagues distributed leaflets at a sunrise service calling for a revival of democratic government. All four were arrested and sentenced to from one to two years on charges of conspiring to overthrow the government (they were subsequently released the following October). In the summer of 1973, 15 Christians were arrested at a demonstration protesting universal military training and conscription. Then the death of a university professor while under police custody added to the will to resist.

Students at the prestigious Seoul National University began demonstrating in October,

A resettlement area near Seoul.

the first anniversary of the imposition of martial law; similar demonstrations spread to other campuses, focusing on 1) the kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung; 2) the Korean CIA; 3) the need to restore democracy; and 4) the economic control of the ROK by Japan. There were marches, fasts, boycotts and sit-ins on campus after campus.

In November, 13 leaders denounced "dictatorship and rule by terror" at a press conference at the Y.M.C.A. in Seoul. The police broke up the meeting as the demonstrators shouted "Mansei" (freedom) three times. Nine were arrested, including a Roman Catholic bishop, a Buddhist priest and the founder of the ROK Presbyterian Church. On November 28 at the Methodist Ewha Women's University half of the 8,000 students demonstrated for five hours outside the University gate where they were blocked by 300 riot policemen equipped with gas masks and tear gas. Park then relaxed briefly his repressive rule but the protests continued. Tokenism was not enough; the people wanted democracy.

In December, thirty civic and religious leaders— (including a former president, the writer of the 1948 constitution, the Roman Catholic Cardinal, and the general secretary of the NCC) met secretly and began a campaign for one-million signatures demanding a democratic constitution.

A few days later, such opposition became more open and vocal. Following a sermon by Stephen Cardinal Kim, four hundred Roman Catholics marched in a plea for democracy and 200 members of the Democratic Unification Party demonstrated in downtown Seoul, demanding Park's resignation.

On December 17, 250 attended a prayer service sponsored by the Korean Student Chrisition Federation and the Catholic Student Federation, calling for a new constitution and the restoration of democracy. The churches set up a defense fund for arrested students and organized further protests.

On January 2, government spokesmen warned religious groups that they were proving a threat to "national security" (where have we heard that before?). Nonetheless, the protests continued to spread and it was reported

that 400,000 signatures had been gathered on the petition to revise the constitution.

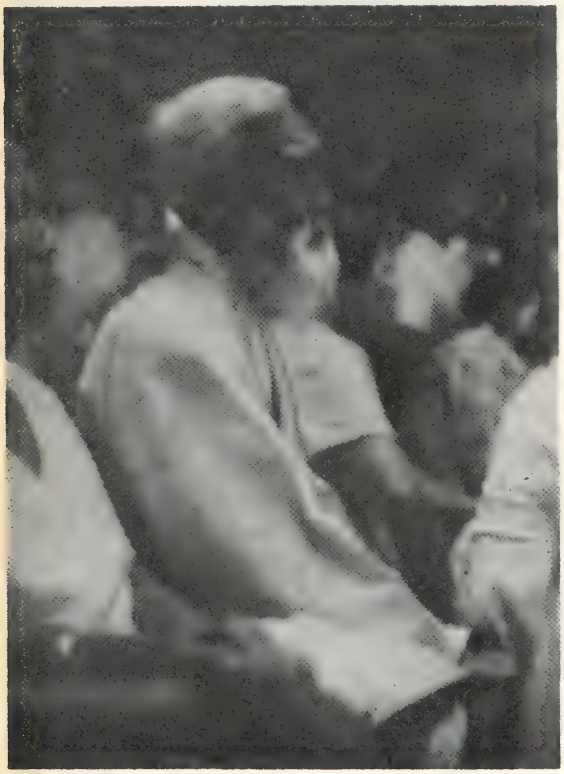
Finally, the government closed all schools and then really cracked down on January 8 when President Park issued the Presidential Emergency Measures, saying it was henceforth illegal to "oppose, deny, misrepresent, or defame" the Yushin Constitution or to criticize the emergency measures. Violators (including foreign residents) would receive 15 years imprisonment and would lose all civil rights.

Protests began to dwindle. Those who did speak out received swift and harsh sentencing. A group of six Protestant pastors were taken into custody for protesting the Emergency Measures, were court-martialed and sentenced to 10-15 years in prison. Of the six, three worked full time for the Urban Industrial Mission (UIM) and the others were involved in community organizations in the slums.

The ecumenical UIM has long been a focus of government surveillance and repression, as it has been in the forefront of the struggle for social justice, exposing the shocking violation of human rights among Korean workers. The government-controlled Korean Federation of Trade Unions (KFTU) has fought the UIM and tried to undermine its effectiveness. After the Emergency Measures were announced the KFTU ran newspaper ads warning workers of the danger of associating with UIM programs. The UIM is charged with being "Communist-inspired" and harassment of its remaining workers is being stepped up.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1974 MARKS THE 26th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DPRK

Despite the Emergency Measures, resistance again stiffened. As schools resumed classes in March, protest rallies and silent marches spread. Police retaliated swiftly, breaking up the rallies, beating the protesters and arresting many. In April new Emergency Measures were promulgated, stating that anyone associated with anti-government activities in any way would face life imprisonment or the *firing*



Ham Suk Hong, editor of The Voice of the People, observes proceedings at the trial of the Rev. Pak Hyum Gyu, pictured at right in handcuffs.

squad. Criticism of the president or of the arrests and torture of the government's critics is strictly forbidden. The government says this is necessary for "rooting out subversive elements, restoring domestic tranquility and tiding over the economic crisis" generated by the oil crisis.

It is raising the spectre of massive Communist infiltration and warning of invasion from the north. Yet numerous arrests have netted not Communists, but simply critics of the regime: *all* of the top leaders of the Korean Student Christian Federation have now been imprisoned and are held incommunicado without specific charges. The KSCF offices were raided and its official records confiscated.

Since April hundreds of students, professors, opposition political party members, and clergymen have been interrogated and many held. One woman worker for the UIM has been charged with being a Communist spy; she had dared to help exploited female workers in a wig factory and was beaten up during interrogation by the Korean CIA.

At Seoul National University, nearly 500 medical students marched arm in arm from the campus out into the streets until they were forced back by the police. Similar protests occurred at Sun Kyun Hwan (originally a Confucian school), at Ewha University and other schools.

On April 9, a 30-year-old man immolated himself in the prayer room of the Kongnak Presbyterian Church in Seoul. The KCIA immediately closed off the church and sought to silence any witnesses. The police officially reported that he died because of rejection by his girlfriend but church members report that he was carrying a Bible and a hymnal, that he had shouted "Replace Park" and "Rescind Yushin" before he set himself aflame.

The collision course between Park and the Korean people continues. On May 5 a group of Japanese Christians placed an extraordinary full page ad in the New York Times calling upon American Christians to come to the aid of their Korean brothers and sisters, not only through their prayers, but in asking the U.S. government to "immediately stop its support and financing of the Park regime." Of the hundreds picked up most recently for interrogation, Professor Lee Uchung of Seoul's Women's College and president of Churchwomen United of Korea told her interrogators that the protestors were not Communists but that they were Christians "working with the labor class and the oppressed, working in the slum areas and encouraging people to fight for their rights." "The students work," she said, "because Christ tells us to feed the hungry and give clothes to the naked."

Troops in downtown Seoul.

South Koreans remember that the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee was overthrown by students in 1960. Many took heart when students overthrew the Thai dictatorship in October of 1973. The climax may be coming to the struggle in South Korea, brought on not by a bloody revolution but through non-violent means. We must not forget our Korean brothers and sisters in their hour of testing.

Reprinted from Fellowship, June 1974.

A UNIFIED KOREA WILL STRENGTHEN PEACE IN ASIA

By WILLIAM POMEROY

Ideas and concepts of detente or of collective security in Asia are still, relatively, too recent for a clear-cut overall pattern to emerge as to how they are to be realized. In its broad terms, international detente may be easily visualized: an end to the Cold War, a reduction of all types of armaments and armies, and an implementation of peaceful co-existence in the general relationships between socialist and capitalist countries.

In the European context the pattern of detente has also been quickly and easily seen, because the military blocs (NATO and the Warsaw Pact) and the economic associations (the Common Market and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance) tend to concentrate the differing forces and systems into simple alignments. Such is not the case in Asia, where the forces and relationships are highly complex and a single point of concentration for detente is not in evidence.

In Asia there have been and are multiple sectors of conflict and tension: in South Asia (past war between India and Pakistan, the independence struggle of Bangladesh, the issue of new U.S. military bases in the Indian Ocean), in South East Asia (the wars of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples against imperialist aggression), in East Asia (the issue of China's reunification with a U.S.-dominated Taiwan), and in North East Asia (the lingering division of Korea).

> *"In Asia, the people's forces for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism are growing and strengthening with each passing day . . .*
>
> *"Today the Asian people, firmly taking their destiny into their own hands, are making dynamic advance under the banner of anti-imperialism and independence. The peoples of the overwhelming majority of Asian countries have already won national independence and many peoples are waging struggles against imperialist aggression and for the complete national freedom and the independent development of their countries."*
>
> Kim Il Sung in an interview with the editor of Al Sanafa, official organ of the Sudanese government, April 25, 1974.

> *"Why do we favour Asian collective security? Because we want to see Asia rid of wars and armed conflicts, of imperialist aggression; we want conditions for free development and national renascence guaranteed every country and every people, and relations between Asia's countries dominated by the spirit of trust and mutual understanding."*
>
> Leonid Brezhnev in a speech at Alma-Ata on August 15, 1973.

Although certain bloc formations have existed, such as the military South East Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the socio-economic Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), these are not negotiation alignments in the sense that the blocs are in Europe, nor are the socialist countries and the non-aligned countries of Asia established in any unified manner. In both general groupings of forces—the socialist and anti-imperialist, and the imperialist and neo-colonialist—there are contradictions that contribute to making the process of detente complicated and many-layered.

Eventually it may possible to achieve all-Asian conference or conferences of all nations concerned in the resolution of Asian tensions. This is a realizable goal and one at which it is worthy to aim. Certainly it will require a vast amount of preliminary groundwork, and the removal of frictions between certain individual nations and others. Undoubtedly a settling of regional or localized problems in a number of cases would precede any Asian collective understandings. However, the projection of the principles of overall detente and of collective security helps to create the atmosphere in which such steps may be taken.

In fact, in every sector of conflict in Asia the processes are already under way for a resolution of problems in the spirit of detente. An interaction between the world trend toward peaceful co-existence and the internal pressures for peace and security in the Asian regions has facilitated these.

South East Asia, the scene of the recent Vietnam war that embroiled most of the region's countries in one participatory role or another (including the right-wing South Korean regime that sent over 50,000 Korean troops to engage in shameful acts of slaughter of a fellow-Asian people), is a good example of the combined international and national pressures for peaceful arrangements. Previously this region had been involved in membership or put under the umbrella of one of the most aggressive of the imperialist-created Cold War systems, the South East Asia Treaty Organization. (SEATO). It was blatantly directed against socialist countries and national liberation movements.

By the latter 1960s SEATO (composed of the U.S., Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan) had begun to fall apart. France, influenced by detente considerations at an early date, became a passive partner, as did Pakistan, which formally withdrew in November 1973. The Philippines and Thailand shifted their main attention to another, regional grouping, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), along with Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore, a new body with no formal imperialist link. In November 1971 the ASEAN members unanimously endorsed a declaration calling for South East Asia to be made a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality."

One of the chief reasons of the break-up of SEATO has been a complaint by its South East Asian members that the purely military, Cold War orientation of the treaty organization did not solve their problems of development and that the emphasis must be put on economic assistance and cooperation. ASEAN is based on such an emphasis.

Furthermore, under U.S. and British influence, most South East Asian countries were cut away from diplomatic or economic relations with socialist countries. This feature, too, has broken down as these Asian countries have become aware of the benefits to their development of ties with socialist countries and their advanced economies. Today ties have been entered into with the Soviet Union by all countries in the region except the Philippines, where steps toward such relations are well-advanced (in May 1974 the Philippine foreign affairs secretary, Carlos Romulo, announced that very soon relations would be established with both the Soviet Union and China simultaneously). China, an avowed target of SEATO on its creation in 1954, has been rapidly forging relations in South East Asia as well.

Concepts of detente and collective security in Asia are thus neither new nor strange to the continent and its island periphery. In South Asia a similar trend has emerged around the question of making the Indian Ocean a "zone of peace." Each regional development of this kind has strengthened the trend toward overall agreements on peaceful relationships and has contributed to the international climate of detente.

This combination of the internal and regional pressures in Asia for detente solutions to the problems bequeathed by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the actions by international peace forces to eliminate conflicts and tensions harmful to the peoples affected, has been having one of its most significant effects upon divided Korea, one of the most longstanding victims of imperialist Cold War policy.

> "I spent 33 years in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine Corps. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscleman for Big Business, for Wall Street and the bankers.
>
> "Thus I helped make Mexico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys . . . I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers . . . I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests . . . I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies . . . In China, in 1927, I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested."
>
> Major General Smedley Butler, the most famous commandant in the history of the U.S. Marine Corps.

The momentous decisions of the United Nations General Assembly in November 1973 to reject or dissolve the policies and instruments that have kept the Korean people divided—the attempt by the U.S. and its imperialist allies to perpetuate the "two Koreas" concept, the disruptive U.S.-manipulated UN Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea—have come about because of the steady growth of the international forces that are compelling detente, namely the socialist countries unified with developing countries and the peace forces in all countries.

Fundamentally, the UN vote was based on the profound wishes of the Korean people, as expressed mainly by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Although this desire has been strong within Korea for nearly three decades, including in South Korea where it is only held in check by a harsh dictatorship and by the presence of U.S. troops, such a vote by the UN was not possible at an earlier date because the forces of peace and detente had not developed sufficiently on a world scale and had not acted as yet sufficiently in unison with the struggles of the Korean people. That such a stage was developing was seen in the fourth non-aligned summit conference in Algeria in 1973, where the DPRK's position on reunification was unanimously endorsed.

Now that such a point has been reached, with the prospect that subsequent UN sessions will dissolve the so-called "United Nations Command" and eliminate the pretext for U.S. occupation troops to remain in South Korea, the internal forces for peaceful reunification will be greatly enhanced and encouraged. The existing "North-South dialogue," which U.S. interventionists and their reactionary clique of allies in South Korea had sought to conduct in a vacuum and to serve their "two Koreas" concept, may now be pressed with greater vigor and support.

It is in this improved atmosphere that President Kim Il Sung, in a speech in Pyongyang on March 4, 1974, significantly during a state visit by President Houari Boumedienne of

"The efforts for peace in the sub-continent are part of the efforts to promote Asian security and cooperation, which have become a vital necessity for the future of all Asian peoples. The struggles for ending imperialist aggression in Indochina and the Middle East, for the liquidation of imperialist military pacts and bases, against neo-colonialism and for independent economic development, for cooperation in all fields among Asian countries—are helping to create the climate for the creation of a system of security in Asia."

The World Peace Council

For the Independent Peaceful Reunification of the Country by Kim Il Sung (Selected Writings on Unification from 1948 to September 1972).

Let us Prevent A National Split and Reunify the Country by Kim Il Sung (a welcoming speech greeting the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic delegation to the DPRK June 23, 1973).

Collective Security in Asia: Prerequisites and Principles by S. Tikhvinsky, from the Finnish journal The World and Us, No. 1, 1974.

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Problems of Collective Security in Asia by V. Kudryavtsev, International Affairs, No. 12, 1973.

Asian People's Struggle For Freedom, Progress and Security by Y. U. Lugovskoi, International Affairs, No. 11, 1973.

Detente and the Working Class, World Marxist Review, May 1974, pgs. 50-57.

A New Phase in Soviet-Indian Relations by J. H. Sanakoyev, International Affairs, No. 2, 1974, pgs. 11-15.

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Prepared by Editorial Board.

Algeria, announced that "we propose once again to convene a great national congress or a North-South political consultative conference participated in by the representatives of all political parties and public organizations and personages of all strata in the North and the South apart from the existing North-South co-ordination commission."

Withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea under the pressure of the joint international and Korean peace forces and the beginning of serious steps toward the reunification of the Cold War-divided country would have a profound effect on the general process of detente in Asia. A similar trend in the development of the situation in Vietnam and Cambodia (as has been occurring in Laos) would greatly hasten the process and remove existing obstacles to a system of collective security for Asian nations.

Detente in Asia must thus be viewed as a complex process occurring at various levels. It is entirely correct to put forward a concept of collective security for the whole continent and its offshore island countries, but this is a framework proposal. Its substance lies in the fight for peace and the resolution of tense issues and imperialist-generated conflicts in each separate sector of this vast part of the world.

Each single victory for peace—in Korea, in South East Asia, in South Asia and the Indian Ocean—is a section in the edifice of detente on a continental scale. Detente in Asia will come not at a single stroke as a result of decisions in a top-level conference; when Asian nations come together for such a purpose it will be in recognition that present tensions and conflicts have been overcome or are well on the way to resolution.

The struggle for the independence and peaceful reunification of Korea is therefore a powerful impetus toward collective security and cooperation for Asia as a whole.

BOOK REVIEW

THE NEWS FITTED TO PRINT

By MICHAEL MYERSON

TO PEKING—AND BEYOND: A Report on the New Asia by Harrison E. Salisbury, New York, Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1973, 302 pages.

It is not for nothing that the *New York Times* is said to be the official organ of the central committee of the U.S. ruling class. The paper's foreign correspondents, like their counterparts in the diplomatic corps, work in large part as revolution-watchers.

Paul Hoffman, for example, the *Times'* Rome correspondent reports mainly on the "problems" of the Italian Communist Party, the largest C.P. out of power in the world. When the fascist regime in Portugal was overthrown this past spring, it was Hoffman who rushed to Lisbon to announce with great alarm to the world that the Portuguese Communist Party was that nation's strongest political entity.

Apologists for Zionist aggression in Lebanon, murderous repression in Latin America, white supremacy in southern Africa, these foreign correspondents serve their central committee well. Those who don't, like Herbert Matthews, who reported sympathetically on the Cuban revolution and the antifascist struggle in Spain, or Homer Bigart, who prematurely criticized U.S. client regimes in Saigon, are quitely retired or kicked upstairs, not to be heard from again.

No such fate met Harrison Salisbury, dean of the *Times'* foreign correspondents. *To Peking—and Beyond,* Salisbury's 17th book in print, was printed by the *Times* itself. It reflects and is actually an elaboration of the author's sorties filed in the pages of his newspaper in 1972, on his visits to China, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.

For 57 years, the *New York Times* has viewed the Soviet Union as the mortal enemy. As Soviet power has consolidated and the socialist camp grown, the *Times* has been relentless in its attack on the hammer and sickle. And Harrison Salisbury has been one of the

The military-industrial complex.

commanding officers of the attack for the last two decades. Even his book, *The 900 Days: The Siege of Leningrad,* about the heroic defeat of Hitler in that city, gives credit with one hand to the fortitude of the Soviet peoples and with the other hand takes any credit for victory away from their leadership.

Hence the wary reader will regard with caution Salisbury's embrace of revolution in China, with which the bulk of *To Peking—And Beyond* is concerned. Like Senator Henry Jackson, Salisbury is less enamored of the Chinese revolution than by its anti-Soviet aspects. He writes about a conversation he had with "a rather high official" in China: "I had said that it seemed to me that Russia had lost the spark of its Revolution. That it had been overtaken by materialism. . . . It was hard to see what remnants of the Revolution were left. Soviet foreign policy differed hardly an iota from czarist foreign policy. I could not but feel that when the Chinese called the Soviet rulers the 'new czars' they had touched a very elemental truth. But in China, there was something new."

Aside from the fact that this arbiter of revolution has not been known to grace the pages of the paper he served for long years with any calls for social reforms let alone revolution, one would have to have a doubt or two about the man's honesty. I mean, really: Would the Czars have supported the Allende government in Chile, the Cuban Revolution, the African liberation movements, the Communist parties of the world? Not to mention the many-sided support the Soviets render and rendered the Vietnamese, Korean and Chinese revolutions about

which this book is written?

And isn't this the same Harrison Salisbury, now bemoaning the "loss" of the Soviet Union from the camp of revolution into the camp of Czarism, the same Harrison Salisbury who champions that Czar-gazer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn. One can only conclude that the author's great passion is not revolution but anti-Sovietism, a passion he will pursue from any angle, in this case from Peking's antipathy to Moscow.

The "and beyond" section of *To Peking—and beyond* includes two chapters of the author's trip to the DPRK in May 1972. Wilfred Burchett, who is Australian, had been reporting on and off for years from Pyongyang for U.S. publications. And a number of U.S. journalists—among the John Pittman of the Daily World, former Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, Muhammed Speaks correspondent Joe Walker, former Ramparts editor Bob Scheer—had preceded Salibury to the DPRK. Still, he writes, "We were the first non-Communist [read here *anti*-Communist] Americans to come to Pyongyang in the 24-year life of the North Korean regime. . . . I never could find out when the last American newspaperman had visited Pyongyang, it was an event so far back into history that all trace had been completely lost. I guessed that no American newsman had been in Pyongyang for close to half a century." This crack U.S. reporter who "never could find out" when the last of his colleagues had visited North Korea, so "guessed" it was nearly 50 years earlier, then lays out for two more chapters his guesses and conclusions, based on guesses.

Actually Salisbury has a history of such journalistic path-finding. In Vietnam, China, the Soviet Union, Mongolia, and elsewhere, he has turned up years after his compatriots and sometimes decades after his colleagues from Toronto, London and Paris, and claimed to be scooping the world of print. Only his imperialist arrogance can match his anti-communism in concluding that news is not news until reported in the *New York Times* and nations are not nations until pronounced by the U.S. State Department.

Salisbury further lays out his credentials for the nonsense he is about to put down on paper: "I am at home in every Communist nation of Europe and Asia. . . . Since World War II, I have spent much of my time in the Communist mileu. I think I know their psychology. . . ." Whatever that may be. One must suppose that the oil driller in Baku, the Vietnamese soldier, the Mongolian sheep-herder, the Hungarian musician, the German stevedore and the Ukrainian wheat farmer all have the same pschology because they are Communists. It is the Salisbury psychology that has brought us to and over the brink of genocidal wars all of our lifetime.

Salisbury is a man who can visit the Sinchon museum showing acts of barbarism against the Korean people—women with their breasts torn off, corpses with stakes driven into their mouths or genitals, decapitated prisoners, blood-stained clothing—and then use parentheses to qualify the word "atrocities" in describing such acts. He feels called upon to make the qualification because the North Koreans ascribe these atrocities to the United States, while Salisbury is smug in his knowledge that they were actually performed by South Koreans under U.S. command.

The man from the *Times,* even after the tiger cages, the bombings of hospitals and leper sanatoriums, the thousands of My Lais in Vietnam, is still condescending in his doubts about what happened in Korea 20 years ago. A million Korean "were alleged to have died" at the hands of the U.S.; the U.S. was "said to have plundered" Korea in 1945. Insects infected with germs were "supposed to have been dropped" into Korea to spread diseases and death.

Or again: "Another exhibit shows photographs of a Communist Party official who is said to have been skinned alive. The skinning knife is shown beside the photograph, but no skin. The skin, I was told, had been burned." Mr. Salisbury has missed his calling. He should join James St. Clair and Ron Ziegler in their defense of Mr. Nixon's Watergate conspiracy or Augusto Pinochet in his defense of Chilean fascism which are alleged to exist.

Salisbury talks about the "fierce nationalism in other Asian countries—notably in North Vietnam" but notes that never was it so strong as in the DPRK, "so strong as to be almost aggressively provocative." This is the reason for the DPRK's "intractability" at Panmunjom and for "the difficulty in bringing the Korean War

to an end, and such spectacular crises as the Pueblo incident." As apparently was the case in North Vietnam, with the Koreans it was their "fierce nationalism" and "intractability" that prolonged the war and captured the spy ship. If not for such intractability North Vietnam and North Korea too could live under the benevolence of Thieu and Park. Refusing to withdraw tens of thousands of occupation forces, weapons including nuclear arms, and spy planes and ships is of course not "intractability," but simply foreign aid.

This review could go on and on, but what is there to say about a sophisticated foreign correspondent who is constantly amazed that he should be distrusted in the DPRK, or that the children and adults of North Korea are mobilized in vigilance against U.S. "incursions" into their country. Why should they distrust this New York Times reporter who writes of the "democratic capitalist system" in South Korea?

Salisbury is surprised in a conversation with Premier Kim Il Sung when Kim "launched into a frank but somewhat good-natured defense of his anti-American policy, insisting that, since the United States might 'pounce' at any moment on his country, he had to maintain the highest degree of preparedness, and that 'the most important thing in war preparation, in my opinion, is that we educate our people in the spirit of hating the enemy.'" Why should this disturb a man who says he is "at home in every Communist nation of Europe and Asia?"

Salisbury's chauvinism prevents him from understanding that he is the enemy they hate, that in fact he is not at home in any land of socialism.

By ANGELO D'ANGELO

The *New York Times* of April 2, 1974 carried a letter by Prof. John Herz of the City College in which the Professor warns that the political situation in Seoul is such that "we might find ourselves in a second Korean war, another Vietnam."

Upon returning from his recent trip to southern Korea, Prof. Herz found the Park regime to hold absolute power and disregard the most elementary rights and liberties of the Korean people.

The City College professor noted that the "American public is blissfully ignorant of one aspect of the situation over there that strikes me as fairly ominous . . . the regime, lacking any popular basis of support, has become increasingly jittery, overreacting to the slightest provocation. Under such conditions, might not the regime (Seoul—A.D.) be tempted to distract attention from domestic affairs and focus it on North-South relations by creating an incident . . . to involve the nation in military strife?"

* * *

American and Japanese capital have brought home huge profits according to the Economic Planning Board. In 1970, $801.0 million in profits was remitted to the home offices of American and Japanese farms in southern Korea. In 1973, the profit rose to $205.6 million.

As for the major U.S. conglomerates, the 1973 profit remittance by Gulf Oil was $6.8 million; Swift/Skelly was $4.8 million; Motorola was $1.0 million and Caltex, $1.9 million.

* * *

Changes in the political wind are evident among many Koreans here in the States who were formally pro-Seoul and vehemently anti-Communist.

The Voice of the People, a periodical put out by Koreans in this country reported the following in its vol. III, no. 1 issue:

"It is time that those who are interested in Korea realized the Korean situation as it is, not as they think it is. Intelligent and jealous of their rights, Koreans have exhausted their patience with the Park regime. To foreign observers who condescendingly applaud physical improvements and conclude that the calm among the people is proof that they are content with Park, Koreans ask with their look instead of words: Did you investigate how many of us live in panja jib (wooden board shacks); how 20% of the laborers, who are unemployed, feel; what it is

like for those who have jobs must live on $20 a month; how they feel about receiving one-eleventh of the wage their Japanese counter-part earns and one-fortieth of the wage their U.S. counterpart earns; and how it feels that under the Park rule employees of establishments with foreign investors cannot strike for better pay? They know that economic improvements have been made. But the benefits go not to them but to enrich only a few.

South Korea today is at the crossroads. It cannot stand still, it cannot go back, it must move ahead. The days of American largess are over. To remain with Park is to wait for Japan's economic take-over. Koreans must move ahead and be reunited with each other. They share common heritage and common aspirations, and economically the north and south are dependent with each other. . . .

It was Park's fatal mistake to mislead the people into believing that he was sincere about the unification, when he agreed to the Joint Communique of July 4, 1972. When the people realized that his true intention was to usurp dictatorial power under the pretense of achieving unification, perpetuate the division of Korea and stay in power indefinitely, they concluded that it was one more reason why he must give up power."

* * *

On May 5, 1974 The Japanese Committee to Support "The 1973 Manifesto of Christians in the Republic of Korea" addressed "an Appeal To American Christians" in a full-page advertisement in *The New York Times,* in which it noted with concern the plight of the Korean people and stated:

"We believe that Japanese Christians must respond to the call of our Christian brethren in South Korea. On our part we are demanding that the Japanese Government no longer support the Park regime. We appeal to the Christian brothers and sisters in the United States to ask your government likewise to immediately stop its support and financing of the Park regime."

* * *

On May 4, The Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, at a meeting in Atlantic City addressed a letter of protest to President Park Chung Hee, dated May 14, 1974.

* * *

Koreans in the south still have their sense of humor despite the repression of the Park regime. The following anecdote brings many laughs in Seoul.

"President" Park, furious about Christian opposition to his rule, summoned one day Stephan Cardinal Kim to the Blue House. As the Cardinal entered, Park remained seated, his feet up on the desk and a glass of whiskey in his right hand. Park said:

"Cardinal Kim, when a Korean meets a mad dog on the street, he squats down and remains quiet. Why?"

"Experience has shown that it's best not to excite the animal. So people remain immobile until the dog goes away."

"When a Korean meets a priest, he stands up and bows to the priest. Why?"

"It's out of respect for the priest's holy vocation."

"My last question. Suppose a man walking along the street sees a mad dog and a priest. What'll he do?"

Korean-Americans demonstrate at the UN in New York to protest terror in South Korea.

"That's a tough one. Why don't we walk down the street together and see what happens?"

* * *

Flurried by the anti-government demonstrations of South Korean students that flared up again the Park Chung Hee regime held an extraordinary cabinet session on the night of April 3 and announced the "Emergency Measures No. 4."

In the Emergency Measures No. 4 the Seoul government proclaimed a total ban on the National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy on "formation" of related groups or "affiliation" with it, on acts "praising" and "encouraging" the activities of the organization and its members of "sympathizing" with them, "meeting" with them and "communicating with them through the exchange of messages or by other methods" or "providing conveniences" for their "hiding, meeting, communication and other activities" and on "direct or indirect involvement in any organization or the activities of its members and all other activities.

The emergency measures also ban "publication, production, possession, distribution and display or sale" of documents, books, phonographic records and "other materials" on any organization demanding democracy or on the activities of its members and "all acts of encouraging, agitating or propagandizing" the above-said acts.

* * *

The 170th trip of Korean repatriates on February 22 left Nugata Port, Japan for Chongjin Port, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, aboard the DPRK vessel *Mangyonbong*, with Korean and and Japanese well-wishers crowding the pier.

This brings to nearly 100,000 the total number of Korean residents in Japan who were repatriated to socialist Korea since the Chongjin-Nugata shuttling service started in December, 1959.

The repatriation ship steams into Nugata Port every three months. The shuttling service is well known to the world as "an exodus of people from capitalism to socialism."

Remarkable about the repatriation is that almost all the repatriates have their hometowns in south Korea and were long-time residents in Japan which professes to be "the second-largest GNP producer in the capitalist world."

* * *

An eight-member motion picture delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea flew into Tokyo recently, for a three-week visit.

They were invited by nine sponsor organizations including the Japan Association of Motion Picture Directors Association, the Screen Playwrights Association in Japan and the Union of Actors and Actresses of Japan.

The first film delegation from Pyongyang to visit Japan was headed by Ho Baek San, General Director of the Korean state Art Motion Picture Studio and was consisted of six men and two women.

During the stay in Japan, the Korean delegation inspected movie studios and the National Theatre and arranged film shows in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto.

The current visit is a follow-up of a month and half-long tour of Japan by the Mansudae Art Troupe last year which won high acclaim among Japanese audiences.

* * *

The Korean Soccer Team in Japan won its 400th victory on February 13 when it beat 4-1 the Furukawa Dinko team.

This record is really worthy of the title of "Shadow Champion of Japan" since it was never allowed to participate in any all-Japan leagues.

The Korean team was formed on August 25, 1961, under the auspices of Chongryun (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan).

The team boasts of its record of 400 wins, 19 draws, and 8 losses.

* * *

The World Federation of Trade Unions issued a statement welcoming and supporting the new measures taken by the Supreme Peoples Assembly of the DPRK to create prerequisites for the removal of tensions in Korea and the acceleration of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth also recently issued a statement supporting the new proposal. The statement stressed:

"The conclusion of a peace agreement between the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea and the United States will be an important measure in creating a favorable condition for a durable peace in Korea and the independent and peaceful solution of the question of Korea's reunification."

* * *

Kim Ho Rim, second secretary of the south Korean embassy in Denmark, requested political asylum on May 3 to the Danish government authorities.

Kim Ho Rim has been subjected to surveillance by agents of the South Korean "Central Intelligence Agency." Unable to put up with the CIA any longer, he sought asylum at the Danish Foreign Ministry and asked for police protection.

Kim Ho Rim is not the first Seoul diplomat who sought asylum in a foreign country. Last year six diplomats of south Korea sought refuge in the United States.

* * *

South Korean students studying in the United States recently held a rally in Washington, shouting "Down with the Park regime."

At the rally, the students adopted a resolution to fight for the democratization of south Korean society and the independent reunification of Korea.

They appealed to other Koreans in different parts of the world to "rise up to overthrow the Park Chung Hee regime."

After the rally, they staged a demonstration in front of the south Korean embassy in Washington and the White House, carrying with them placards reading "Freedom or Death." "Freedom to South Korea!"

* * *

According to reports from Seoul, Li Won Dal, a reporter of *Chungang Ilbo* was arrested on charges of "libel" and questioned for eleven hours. Other newsmen from a number of newspapers including *Kyonghyang Sinmun, Hanguk Ilbo, Choson Ilbo* and *Tonga Ilbo* were rounded up. *Chungang Ilbo* "reported on the basis of a clear evidence" that a certain Li, a former national assemblyman, was a suspect in the Kumrok Trading Co. scandal case. *Kyonghyang Sinmun* carried comic strips casting doubt on the background of the same case.

In related events, the south Kor-

ean Journalists Association on May 4 condemned the Park regime's group detention of journalists as "an unpardonable act threatening the duty of the press to make criticism" and strongly demanded their release.

On the same day, the south Korean Newspaper Editors Association demanded that the Park Chung Hee government "immediately release" the arrested journalists.

* * *

Representatives of seven organizations affiliated with the "pro-Seoul" Residents Association in Japan (Mindan)—the Japan Headquarters of the "National Congress for Restoration of Democracy and Promotion of Unification," "Committee for Defense of Independence," Tokyo Headquarters of "Mindan," Kanagawa Prefectural Headquarters of "Mindan," "youth union," Tokyo Headquarters of the "Women's Association" and "Consultative Council for National Unification"—held a press conference in Tokyo on April 4 and issued a statement denouncing the Park Chung Hee regime for their proclamation of the "emergency measures No. 4" and repression of the student movement of south Korea.

The statement said:

"There were many tyrants in long human history.

But when and where was there an oppressor who inflicted death penalty upon people on mere charges of holding meetings and demonstrations for existence? This is an act which can be committed only by such bandits as Park Chung Hee.

Today, in south Korea the people are in a miserable position where they can no longer live, deprived of freedoms, rights and even the right to life by Park Chung Hee. On top of this, national dignity and sovereignty are totally trampled underfoot due to the ever intensified aggression of Japan."

The statement continued,

"We support the south Korean students who have risen in the struggle for democracy, and express our firm determination to fight shoulder to shoulder with them.

We also denounce maneuvers of the Park regime and the aggressive acts of Japan."

The statement declared:

1. The Park regime must abolish the "emergency measures" and free at once the arrested students, men of culture and religion.

2. Restore full freedom to Kim Dae Jung and allow him to revisit Japan.

3. The Japanese government must put an end to the aggressive acts against south Korea.

* * *

Chief KCIA agent in Tokyo, Kim Duong Woon, and five operatives drove to Haneda airport and waited there on July 23 for the arrival of Channing Liem, former South Korean Ambassador to the U.N. Ambassador Liem, a militant critic of the Park government and a close friend of Kim Dae Jung, was reported as coming to Japan for collaboration with Kim. It was believed that the KCIA agents were trying to trail Liem in order to learn Kim's whereabouts. However, Liem never showed up. He arrived in Tokyo three days earlier!

* * *

Koreans in Chicago held a two-day conference. On the evening of April 19 they sponsored a lecture at McCormick Theological Seminary with Dr. Joe Joon Kim as the featured speaker. Former President of a Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul and a staunch believer in democracy, Dr. Kim is one of Korea's most respected educators. Nearly 200 people attended this meeting.

On April 20, an outdoor rally was held at the Civic Center with about 150 Koreans and many hundreds of Americans in attendance. It was a balmy day and the Chicagoans who were out strolling seemed attracted by the Koreans some of whom, ladies, wore colorful Korean costumes. Many of them remained to listen to speeches which were delivered in both English and Korean. Sponsored by the April 19 Committee with Mr. Sangho Kim as Chairman, and presided over by Mr. Myung Sang Choi, the group listened to several speakers among whom were the Rev. R. Poethig, Mr. Sangdon Kim and Channing Liem.

* * *

Koreans in the Nordic countries held a meeting in Stockholm recently and formed "the Nordic Support Committee for Democracy in South Korea," an organization which aims at launching a protest movement against the Park Chung Hee military regime of South Korea, according to radio "Voice of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification."

It is reported that this organization forms a component part of the Overseas Resistance Movement which has similar organizations in the U.S., Japan, and other places where many Koreans live.

Quoting a Swedish paper, the radio said: The purpose of the movement is: First, to topple the Park dictatorship and achieve democracy in South Korea. Second, to achieve the peaceful reunification of Korea. Third, to wage a struggle for ensuring human rights in South Korea.

The Nordic Support Committee for Democracy in South Korea has offices respectively in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland.

* * *

Mt. Kumgang-san is a world-famous beautiful mountain. It is situated in the central part of Korea and constitutes the northern range of Taebaek-san. The mountain is made up of 12,000 peaks. Queer-looking rocks rise there, presenting a great diversity of form and shape. Clear streams flow along ravines and waterfalls thunder down rocky cliffs and crystal ponds are found here and there. Flora is very rich—species number a thousand. In spring and summer the mountain is carpeted with flowers. In autumn it is bright with red and yellow-tinged leaves. In winter, it is covered with ice and snow. The mountain presents different landscapes each time the seasons change.

Mt. Kumgang-san is famous not only for its beauty. This mountain is very special to the Korean people because it is the scene of numerous battles of the People's Liberation Army who gave their lives in the Korean War against invading U.S. ground troops.

Before liberation, when Korea was a Japanese colony, Mt. Kungang-san was a pleasure ground only for the Japanese and the rich. Workers were not allowed near the mountain. After the country was freed from Japanese rule, the mountain was opened to Korean workers. Modern rest houses and welfare facilities were built on Mt. Kumgang-san, and hiking courses were enlarged or rebuilt.

* * *

In response to AFFIC's telegram

to DPRK President Kim Il Sung congratulating him on his birthday, AKFIC received the following telegram from Pyongyang.

"I take this opportunity to wish your center fresh successes in its future work to develop friendship between the Korean and American peoples."

Signed
Kim Il Sung
President Democratic
Peoples Republic of
Korea

* * *

An agreement which would allow the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea to render free economic aid to the Republic of South Viet Nam was signed in Pyongyang recently between the DPRK Government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSVN.

The agreement was signed by Chong Song Nam, representing the DPRK and by special envoy Duong Thainh Long, representing the Provisional Revolutionary Government of RSVN.

* * *

Prices for manufactured goods were recently reduced by a large margin in the DPRK. According to a decree of the Central People's Committee of the Democratic Republic of Korea, the prices for manufactured goods were cut 30% on the average at all stores in towns and in the countryside, of which fabrics were cut 20-50%; footwear—16-33%; and knitwear—30-35%.

* * *

The State Department refused to permit DPRK diplomats to journey from New York to Massachusetts to attend a seminar at Harvard University.

The decision dismayed scholars at Harvard who said they had thought that the East-West thaw would extend to scholarly contact with DPRK citizens.

The State Department issued a statement saying it was long-standing policy that diplomats from countries with only observer status at the United Nations and no diplomatic relations with the United States were limited to within 25 miles of Manhattan unless United Nations business required further travel.

In related events, AKFIC sent the following letter to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on the Harvard incident:

"We protest in the strongest terms the State Department's denial of permission to travel to Harvard University, invited diplomats from the United Nations Mission of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.

As a former Harvard Professor yourself, you must surely understand the need of free academic inquiry, of the right to hear different points of view. As a diplomat yourself, one who professes to make detente and "a generation of peace" cornerstone of your policies, you must certainly know that such an act by your Department is a throwback to the days of the Cold War, which incidentally, heated up and boiled over on the Korean peninsula.

Only six weeks ago, the United States Congress received from its Korean counterpart, the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK, an offer to conclude a peace in Korea and at last bring an end to an era of hostilities in that part of the world. The sort of act that denies the right of academic freedom to our own scholars and the right to travel and to be heard to the Korean diplomats is certain to be interpreted as your slamming the door on detente in East Asia.

At a time when our universities are providing audiences to spokesmen for South African Apartheid and Chilean atrocities, not to mention spokesmen who defend police-state terror in South Korea, do you really want to place yourself beside the official of your Department who argued, in denying permission to the representatives of the DPRK to come to Harvard, "We did not ask them to come to this country; they are not friends of ours"? Indeed, who are our friends? This kind of insolence by a State Department spokesman only reflects the contemptuous character of Watergate-Nixonian public officials.

Surely, Dr. Kissinger, it is not too late to reverse the decision of your Department aides, who insulted not only the people of Korea, but also the representatives of the United Nations. We implore you to reverse this decision."

* * *

Pravda and other leading papers and news agency in the U.S.S.R. reported on the recent DPRK peace proposal to the U.S. Congress. *Izvestia* stressed:

The Supreme Peoples Assembly of the DPRK in a letter to the Congress of the U.S.A. formally proposed to conclude a peace agreement between the DPRK and the U.S.A. This is a new important initiative for creating prerequisites to a lasting peace on the Korean peninsula and the achievement of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country on a democratic basis.

It continued:

"The cause of tension on the Korean peninsula lies in the presence of foreign troops in South Korea. Today, more than 40,000 U.S. troops stay in South Korea under the U.N. flag. Their continued presence in South Korea and abuse of the U.N. flag are incompatible with the interests of the peace in the Far East." *Tass* said that to achieve Korean reunification is an urgent national task of the Korean people. It pointed out:

"A peace agreement will remove the danger of a direct armed clash between the north and the south and put an end to the arms race. It is unquestionable that the U.S. troops should pull out of South Korea. . . .

The important initiative of the DPRK marks a new stage in the just struggle of the Korean people for national reunification. . . .

The DPRK has made consistent efforts for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The recent initiative of the DPRK has won widespread support of the world peace-loving people, above all, of the fraternal socialist countries which always stand on the side of the DPRK."

* * *

Two representatives of the DPRK Permanent Observer Mission to the U.N. were invited to City College of New York to tell about education in their country.

The presentation affected the audience and raised doubts on the American stereotypes of the "North Korean Reds."

Dep. Ambassador Lee explained proudly that books, school supplies, school uniforms are all free, and that the concept of college tuition is completely alien to students in the DPRK.

It was an educational experience for the audience to see—contrary to what they are told—that the North Koreans don't "have horns." They laugh, smile, etc.—in short, they are human!

Dep. Ambassador Lee enjoyed talking about the DPRK's accomplishment such as the recent abolishment of taxes.

Several 1st generation Korean students attended the CCNY meeting and spoke with the DPRK representatives after the symposium ended.

The response of those attending the symposium was that this type of educational exchange was very valuable.

* * *

The DPRK has become the first country to abolish all taxation.

The Socialist Constitution of the DPRK stipulated that taxation should be abolished upon achieving socialism since it is "a hangover from the days of anti-popular rule of the exploiter classes."

In the past, taxation was a heavy burden that was imposed upon the Korean peasants and workers. The colonial tax system involved such taxes as the land tax and livestock tax that were set up by the Japanese.

After the liberation from Japanese rule, a taxation reform was enforced in the northern part of Korea where socialism was being constructed. The colonial tax system was abolished and replaced with a uniform agricultural tax-in-kind and a graduated income tax as its basis. The peasants were thus, freed from the high rate of feudal form rent and the workers assumed a moderate and fair tax burden proportionate to their income. All the taxes were used entirely for the building of the DPRK's industrial economy.

As the socialist transformation of Korean society was being completed, the new progressive tax program began to lose its meaning.

The development of the socialist economy led to the growth of accumulation in the state-run enterprises and its percentage allocated to state revenues. Thus, this led to the systematic lessening of the tax burden on the people, which resulted in lessening their tax proportion to state finance.

* * *

The recent Korean Christian Scholars Conference, sponsored by the Association of Korean Christian Scholars, marked a turning point in its history by concentrating on the problems facing Koreans in the U.S.—not just Korean politics.

Ms. Bok Lim Kim, one of the panelists, emphasized that many of the recent Korean immigrants are here to stay and the establishment of a viable Korean community must be a priority issue.

While Koreans, on the other hand, concentrate on developing means to help their own adjustment to America, they also have to recognize their own ethnocentrism and racism against other minority people. For they are the ones who share similar problems and with whom we will find common solutions.

Cooke Sunoo, a Korean research project director in Los Angeles, pointed out that "as Koreans we have a responsibility to be concerned with the homeland. But as Koreans in America we have equal responsibility to be concerned with issues affecting us here."

* * *

Repression in southern Korea has reached such heights that many Koreans are emigrating in large numbers to other countries.

According to the 1973 annual report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 22,930 Koreans from southern Korea have emigrated to the U.S. from July 1972 to June 1973.

Of this number 17,051 were classified as having no occupation and 1,513 as service workers, operatives, household workers and craftsmen.

The number of Koreans in Los Angeles alone has increased noticeably Bill Hosokawa of the *Pacific Citizen* on March 29 wrote.

"On my drive into Little Tokyo (in Los Angeles), the route led over Olympic Boulevard, which for an astonishing distance, was lined by Korean restaurants, Korean food stores, Korean real estate agencies, Korean gift shops, Korean beauty parlors, etc.

"Korean immigrants are entering the Los Angeles areas in unprecedented volume and at the present rate may outnumber Japanese Americans before too many years."

* * *

The Korean Armistice Agreement was signed by the DPRK and the People's Republic of China on one side and the U.S.-sponsored United Nations Command on the other.

The regime in Seoul was not a signatory.

* * *

Brig. Gen. Suk-nam Choi, ret., was one of several initiators of an anti-Park demonstration at U.N. Plaza held under the auspices of the "Former Army Officials For A Democratic Korea."

* * *

According to a Japanese Foreign Ministry report, about 300,000 Koreans in Japan are "public citizens" of the DPRK, while the rest are divided into two factions, one opposing the Park Chung Hee military regime, and a smaller minority supporting it.

* * *

The House subcommittee on Asian and Pacific affairs had released a testimony given by Maj. Gen. Richard Ciccolella, retired, former head of the U.S. Military Advisory Group on Taiwan. When asked by Rep. Lester Wolff if the DPRK were admitted to the United Nations then wouldn't only the U.S., which has a unilateral agreement with the Park regime, have troops under the United Nations Command stationed there?.

Gen. Ciccolella's response was revealing. "Of course they (U.N. Command-A.D.) amount to nothing

more anyway. They are just a bunch of flagholders with some colors."

The Major reiterated this position when he agreed that the U.N. Command was nothing more than "an umbrella that is used in order to maintain our (U.S.-A.D.) forces."

* * *

Peace organizations around the world, particularly in Asian countries, observed April 5-12 as Asia Week, during which discussions and meetings on the urgent problems of peace and security in Asia were held.

The call for the observance of the week was issued by the Steering Committee of the World Congress of Peace Forces and strongly supported by the World Peace Council.

On this occasion the W.P.C. issued a statement drawing attention to the most important issues in Asia today, which included those of peace and independence for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, and support for the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people; the liquidation of all military pacts and bases; and support for the struggle for economic independence and against neo-colonialism.

* * *

In a speech by DPRK Foreign Minister Ho Dam and in a public letter to the U.S. Congress, the DPRK has proposed a peace agreement to supercede the 1953 armistice.

The proposal is made to the U.S. because the two signatories to the armistice agreement are the DPRK and the U.S. High Command.

The letter states: "Under the condition of huge armed forces standing opposed to each other as it is today, it is impossible successfully to solve any problems, big and small, which are related to the peaceful reunification of Korea."

Conrad Komorowski, columnist for the New York *Daily World,* gave a good analysis on what the role of progressive Americans should be in this area: Komorowski reminded his readers that after twenty years, 40,000 American troops are still stationed in southern Korea.

"To look upon this force as a relic of the cold war in its most aggressive and reactionary stage is correct, but insufficient. It is more than a relic. The presence of these troops must be seen for what it is—a threat of future U.S. military aggression as well as a continuing tension-provoking factor."

Komorowski further states: "Twenty years of an armistice arrangement is a strange form of relationship and underlines that it has been U.S. policy all along not to recognize the legitimacy of the DPRK and to block reunification of the Korean people.

"Although the Korean War was conducted ostensibly under United Nations auspices, U.S. imperialism launched the war, conducted it, lost it, and today still runs southern Korea.

"The people of the U.S., therefore, have a special responsibility since it is their imperialism which hampers and seeks to crush the national liberation of the people of all Korea."

In related events, the Korean language *The Voice of the People* published in New Paltz, New York voiced support for the new chance for peace in Korea. In its April 1st editorial, the publication declared that "We believe the latest proposal by Pyongyang for U.S.-North Korea peace negotiation merits a serious consideration by Washington."

The editorial further added that "today there has risen in Seoul one of the most irresponsible and repressive governments the world has seen. Alienated from its own people and driven dangerously to economic insolvency, the Park government uses "Communist menace" as a blackmail to force Washington into supporting it."

* * *

Japanese and American corporations continue to take over more and more of southern Korea's economy. As of December 31, 1973, American corporate monopolies have invested $174.3 million in 114 ventures. Japanese corporations continue to lead their American counterparts by investing $437.9 million in 695 ventures.

* * *

In his book "Mandate For Change," the late President Dwight Eisenhower made public that one of the reasons for U.S. intervention in the Korean conflict of the 1950's was the existence of much needed minerals and ores in that area of the world.

Now, the Mining and Minerals Policy 1973, Second Annual Report of the Secretary of Interior, confirms what Eisenhower had admitted.

The Report states that the graphite reserve in Southern Korea is the fourth largest in the world and that of the DPRK is the second largest in the world. Combined, this would be the largest graphite reserve in the world.

Tungsten, another much sought after mineral has the second largest reserves in the Korean peninsula.

* * *

The South Korean Revolutionary Party for Reunification (RPR) issued on April 18 a statement on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the April 19 Popular Uprising of the South Korean people.

Recalling that the April 19 Popular Uprising 14 years ago was a victory of "the united strength of the democratic patriotic forces" in their resistance to the Syngman Rhee dictatorship, the statement said, "A dictatorship betraying the nation cannot live long and no enemy can match the united forces of the people."

The RPR analyzed the significance, and lesson of the April 19 Uprising.

The Party denounced the crimes committed by Park Chung Hee, who has been in power over the last 10 years.

It also condemned the suppression committed by the Park regime "since it seized power by brandishing bayonets" down to the establishment of the present "revitalized dictatorial system."

"Even if the Seoul government proclaims "emergency measures No. 5" and "No. 6" following the present "No. 4," it will mean nothing but the last-ditch effort of a doomed regime and Seoul can never bring the people to their knees with this."

The RPR stressed that the south Korean people should "overthrow

the dictatorial regime with a massive uprising, valiantly rising up as they did in the April 19 Uprising."

* * *

American Scholars for a Democratic Korea reports gratifying responses to its newspaper advertisement. On February 24, 1974, the committee placed a paid advertisement in the *New York Times,* calling upon Park Chung Hee to return democratic rights to the Korean people. Over 130 scholars from twenty American colleges and universities signed the statement.

To date over a hundred responses were received. Also received were hundreds of dollars in contributions. Of the messages received two were of adverse nature. One was from an anonymous sender who wrote: "Nuts! Why don't you go to Russia?" The other one, was from a gentleman in Pittsburgh, who thought that before Americans told other nations how to conduct themselves they should first straighten out the mess in America.

The rest were uniformly favorable. Some were enthusiastically favorable. Some of the typical messages were as follows:

"I am 100% with you."

"I know there are thousands of professors who will support you willingly, if you will but reach them," and so on.

* * *

"Ever since the declaration of martial law on October 17, 1972 and the subsequent establishment of the dictatorship, the government of South Korea under President Chung Hee Park has served the Japanese economic interest to the detriment of the welfare of the South Korean people.

"In the name of modernization the Park government allowed the infiltration of Japanese capital into South Korea which has increased by more than 250 per cent within a year since the martial law was imposed. Meanwhile, over 70 per cent of the major Korean enterprises which were suported by foreign capital are now bankrupt, according to the official report of the Park government. Average families of the working class live on less than $20.00 a month while the situation in the rural areas is even worse. Japanese business has been taking full advantage of President Park's corrupt and inefficient administration, paying no deference to the suffering Koreans who fell victims of the so-called "modernization." Thus, South Korea is fast becoming an economic colony of Japan."

Among the signers were such distinguished personalities as: Rev. Choong Sik Ahn (Brooklyn); Dr. Ki Ho Kim (Biochemist); Dr. Byung Hyun Nam (Pace College); Rev. Ye Won Paik (Queens); Dr. Harold W. Sunoo (City Univ. of N.Y.); Dr. Hye Won Chang (Columbia University); Dr. Channing Liem (SUNY, New Paltz); Dr. Syngman Rhee (United Presb. Church) and Dr. Won Ryul Song, Physicist.

The signers also declared:

"President Park has also betrayed the historical Joint Communique of July 4, 1972 which stipulates that the Korean unification be achieved peacefully and independently without foreign interference. His ruthless supression of the freedoms of speech, press, assembly and religion alienated the Government of the people.

"It is evident that the consolidation of dictatorial powers by President Park has led to unbearable conditions in South Korea. The situation is indeed critical. The nation is divided hopelessly. Without immediate action, a chaotic situation beyond remedy will inevitably occur in South Korea. All the Koreans share the position that President Park must assume the responsibility for this national tragedy.

"We, the concerned Koreans in New York area, sharing the common sense of urgency with Koreans everywhere, demand that President Park resign."

* * *

The Korean Feature Film Studio produced in two parts the wide-screen feature film "A Worker's Family" some time ago.

The film "A Worker's Family" has marked another epochal progress in the creation of works dealing with realities in the DPRK today.

The film portrays the hope-filled life of a miner's family and the growth of the younger generations who temper themselves into revolutionary workers, overcoming survivals of old ideas, which are manifested occasionally in their life.

The film brings out stories of Pak Gwang Rok's family, a family of workers who carry out revolutionary tasks regarding it as "the greatest honor to devote their wisdom and passion for the sake of society, the collective, and the people."

The film depicts the reality of today when the revolutionization of the Korean people is further developing into a struggle for eliminating the way of life of the old society and replacing it with a new, socialist way of life.

The feature film "A Worker's Family" serves as a textbook for the revolutionization of people in the DPRK.

* * *

The revolutionary national opera "A Sea of Blood," created during the anti-Japanese armed struggle, gives a vivid depiction of a bereaved family who gradually grow into revolutionaries in the thick of the struggle, showing the bitter hatred of the Korean people against the Japanese occupation forces.

This opera is based on a new dramaturgy. It consists of popular music in the form of the "cholga," the national dance peculiar to the Korean people.

The feature film "A Girl Looking For a Red Ribbon" and the novel "The Growing Ranks" also contribute to the education of the children and working people on the revolutionary traditions. They portray Children's Corps members and guerillas who grow into fine revolutionary fighters in the years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

The music-and-epic drama "Song of Korean Women" staged by women art circle members from all parts of the DPRK gives a vivid artistic representation of the Korean people's determination to hasten the country's reunification.

This year art troupes of the DPRK visited many countries including China, Cuba, Iraq, Singapore, India and Burma and won fame as the art of Chollima Korea.

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Materials from AKFIC Education, Information Department

Kim Il Sung Report to the Fifth Congress, Workers' Party of Korea

We've Nothing to Envy in the World, a musical in color available in 35 mm. and 16 mm.

Maid of Kum Gang San, a musical in color available in 35 mm. and 16 mm.

Korea Focus, back numbers.

Reference to some books on Korea in our publication is not to be construed as recommended or approved reading matter for study.

Many of the publications referred to in *Korea Focus* the editors consider to be the partisan viewpoints of proponents of aggressive, imperialist warfare, colonialism, red-baiting and anti-Sovietism.

We include them in the reference section because, despite their biased, pro-imperialist, non-objective themes, they nevertheless contain within them, if read critically, raw material, facts, and statistical information helpful to student, scholar and layman anxious to find source material. There is always a goldmine of information in a critical reading of official texts, memoirs, biographies, by military and state leaders that turn up material that can help students arrive at more precise conclusions and analysis.

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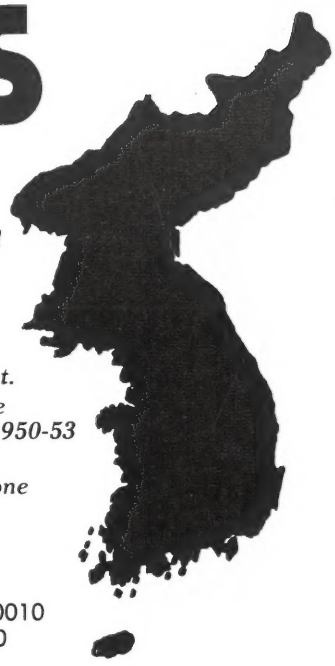

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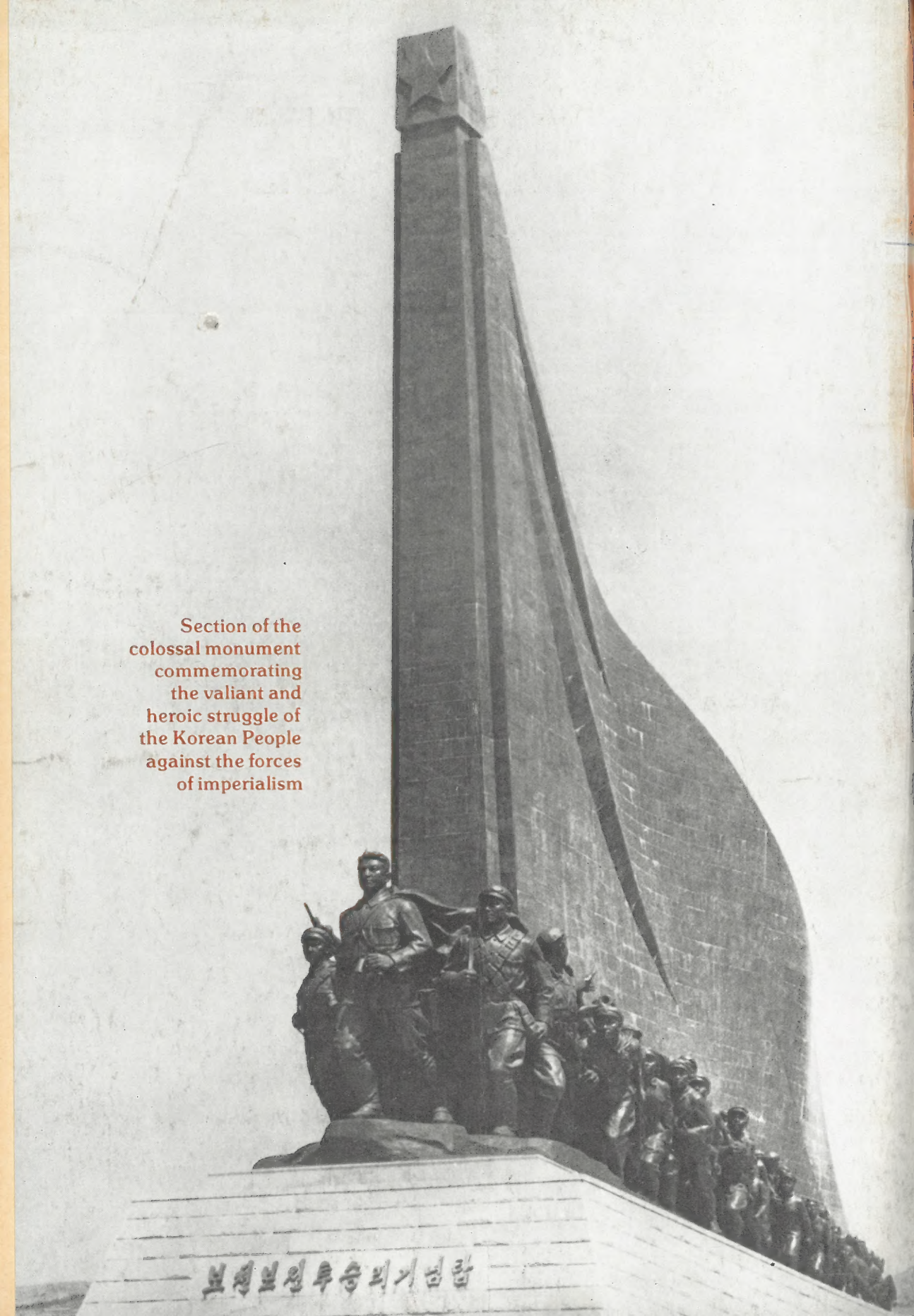

Section of the colossal monument commemorating the valiant and heroic struggle of the Korean People against the forces of imperialism